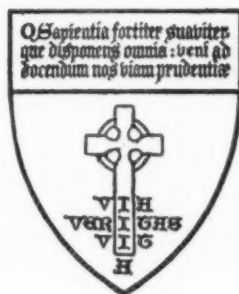


# Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

In Collaboration with Representative Scholars  
throughout the Church

Founded by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XII

JULY, 1930

NUMBER 5

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## DOSTOYEVSKY AND WESTERN CHRISTIANITY

By CLARENCE AUGUSTUS MANNING, Columbia University

Russian literature differs sharply from that of the countries of Western Europe and America in the influence which it attributes to the ideas of its leading writers. To the Russian of the nineteenth century, the outstanding novelist was not merely a man who wrote to divert his readers but a guide to their social and political thinking, a real conscience for his day and generation. This rôle especially became Feodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky, and in view of the emphasis which he laid on religious and moral problems it may not be out of place to collect some of his opinions on Western Christianity.

This he knew only slightly at first hand. He made, it is true, a few trips to the West but he spent most of his time in Russia where he had an almost uncanny ability for analyzing the characters of men and for predicting the future. Time has played havoc with many of his views, for he believed that Russia and Russia only would succeed in stemming the tide of revolution, but at the same time he alone of his contemporaries understood fully the character which that revolution would take, in case it broke loose. He and he alone shuddered at the certainty that it could make a religion of atheism and with the zeal of a religious fanatic set itself to eliminate religion from the land. He and he alone dared to penetrate beneath the surface of superficial idealism

to discover the beast that was hidden in the idealist, often unknown to the possessor. Thus his works with their wealth of psychology have maintained themselves, even though their fundamental thesis seems to have been irrevocably shattered.

The skill in analysis which Dostoyevsky possessed was undoubtedly developed by the opportunities which he had had for studying human nature at close range and under abnormal conditions. Himself an epileptic and also a graduate of the Engineering School of the Russian Army, he knew in quick succession the poison of immediate success as a writer, a period of slow disillusionment, arrest and trial on a charge of revolution against the government, an order of execution which was changed only after the prisoners had been waiting for hours before the scaffold, years of prison life in Siberia, and a long hard struggle to rehabilitate himself financially and socially under the burden of poverty and illness. In his Siberian days he had met all classes of the population who had come under the benevolent care of the government and few writers have had the opportunity and the leisure to study the unfortunate victims while actually confined with them.

It is a marvel that he survived the experiences through which he had to pass but he came back to the world of literature with a wealth of material which is still unsurpassed in horror and in interest. He was ready to probe human nature to its depths and to trace the inventions of the mind to their final lurking place.

Religiously too the man survived. He has painted the most ghastly and terrible pictures of the revolt of man against God, of his striving to take the place of God, and many have felt that he could not himself believe whole-heartedly. Yet he never wearied of declaring that without God and religion the world would become a vaudeville of devils and he sincerely believed that no devil could be as loathsome as the creation of the irreligious heart. Dostoyevsky stands as far as possible removed from those facile optimists who believe that sin has passed away because it has been forgotten and that all is well on earth. Yet no one has been so eager to differentiate between the sin and the sinner and to

emphasize the spark of goodness that remains within even the most hardened outcast who has apparently lost every trace of humanity.

Add to this combination of qualities the fact that he was an admirer of Europe and by a strange contradiction a profound Russian nationalist and patriot. Further that he believed in the Messianic mission of Russia to show forth a new manifestation of Christianity, at a time when faith was lacking in Europe, and we will complicate the picture still more. After all he was a man and a writer of contradictions but these contradictions must be resolved into a deeper and more fundamental unity, if we would try to understand what he was seeking in his works.

We find one marked example of this in the fact that many of his most serious ideas are placed on the lips of some half-crazed fanatic, like Shatov in *The Possessed*, or the Idiot in the novel of the same name, or in his delirium Ivan Karamazov, or the drunken Marmeladov in *Crime and Punishment*. We would be tempted to discount or even neglect all of these statements, if they were not in many cases repeated in his own person in *The Journal of a Writer*, a periodical which he brought out now and then, when his health, his money and his inclination allowed him to do so. In these writings he talks like a rabid nationalist, like the typical propagandist, but always with a difference.

With his profoundly Orthodox attitude toward life, Dostoyevsky reacted very bitterly against the Roman Catholic Church. The Poles were Roman Catholic and he definitely hated them and extended this dislike to every thing they touched, including their religion. Yet we must remember also that religion and politics are very close together; a half century ago the average Orthodox Pole soon came to count himself a Russian, and a Roman Catholic Russian found himself drifting easily and rapidly into the Polish political camp.

The primary basis of his thought lies in a rather strange analogy—the relation between the papacy and the Roman Empire. Thus writing in March, 1876, in his *Journal*, in regard to papal infallibility, he says: "In proclaiming as a dogma 'that Christi-

anity cannot maintain itself on the earth without the temporal sovereignty of the pope,' it has proclaimed a new Christ, unlike the old, who has yielded to the third temptation of the devil, to earthly rule: 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me!' Oh, I have heard fervent expressions of this thought; I have been told that the faith and image of Christ even now continue to live in the hearts of many Catholics in all their former truth and purity. It is undoubtedly so, but the great source is confused and irrevocably poisoned. Besides Rome has too recently proclaimed its assent to the third temptation of the devil in the form of a firm dogma and we have not yet been able to foresee all the direct consequences of this great decision" (*Journal of a Writer for 1876*, pp. 140 ff., ed. Ladyzhnikov).

We notice at once that Dostoyevsky like most Orthodox thinkers does not try to moderate or explain away the papal claims. He accepts the extreme ultramontane position as the only one which is intellectually honest and therefore possible for serious thinkers. He lacks that peculiar virtue of modern Western thought which replaces serious and sober consideration of a situation with pleasant idealism and then maintains that every one agrees with it because this is the goal of humanity.

It is perfectly clear to Dostoyevsky that this papal attitude is an outgrowth of the Roman Empire. Thus he says:

"Ancient Rome first begot the idea of the universal union of people and first thought (and firmly believed) in practically executing it in the form of a universal monarchy. But this formula fell before Christianity—the formula, not the idea. For the idea is the idea of European humanity; from it has been formed its civilization and for this alone it exists. Only the idea of a universal Roman monarchy fell and was replaced by the new ideal of the universal union in Christ. This new ideal was divided into the Eastern, *i.e.*, the ideal of a completely spiritual union of people, and the Western-European, Roman Catholic, papal, completely opposed to the Eastern. This Western Roman Catholic incarnation of the idea was carried out in its own way, but by losing its Christian, spiritual principle and by sharing it with its ancient Roman inheritance. It was proclaimed by the Roman papacy, that Christianity and its idea, without the universal ruling of lands and peoples—not spiritually but governmentally, in other words, without the manifestation on the earth of a new universal Roman monarchy, at the head of which would be not a Roman emperor, but the Pope—could not be manifested. And so began the attempt of



a universal monarchy absolutely in the spirit of the ancient Roman world, but already in a different form. Thus in the Eastern ideal there is first the spiritual unity of mankind in Christ, and then, by virtue of this spiritual unity of all in Christ and undoubtedly proceeding from this, comes true governmental and social unity; while according to the Roman interpretation there is the opposite: first the reliance upon a strong governmental union in the form of a universal monarchy and then, perhaps, a spiritual unity under the rule of the Pope as the lord of this world" (*Journal of a Writer*, 1877, pp. 237 f.).

To this idea Dostoyevsky returns again and again but he carries it still further in his discussion of socialism. He saw in France the various forms of pre-Marxian socialism and the atheism of the republican and revolutionary governments and he declared this a logical outcome of the papal system. "For French socialism is nothing else than the violent union of humanity—an idea coming from ancient Rome and later being guarded completely in Catholicism. As a result the idea of the liberation of the human spirit from Catholicism has been wrapped up in the closest Catholic forms, implanted in the heart of the spirit, in its letter, its materialism, its despotism, its morality" (*Journal of a Writer*, 1877, p. 8). To Dostoyevsky the idea of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—or Death, as based on the Revolutions of 1789 and 1848—was the very essence of absurdity and he ridiculed it from his first visit to France in 1858 (*Winter Remarks on Summer Impressions*, Chap. vi).

But it was more than this. Dostoyevsky noted the close relation that had existed in the past between the papacy and the European monarchies. Those monarchies were coming to a close but the ideas went on forever. Therefore the papacy, he declared, would find its new supporters, not among the ranks of the titled conservatives but among the socialists as the future rulers of the West. "Socialism is the coming force for all Western Europe, and if the papacy will ever be rejected and cast away by the governments of the world, it may very likely happen that it will fling itself into the embrace of socialism and unite with it. The pope will come out to all the beggars, walking barefoot, and he will say that all which they teach and wish has long been in the Gospel, that till now the moment has not come for them to know it, but it

has now come and that he, the pope, will give over to them Christ and believe in the anthill. Roman Catholicism (this is too clear) needs not Christ, but universal sovereignty: 'You need union against your enemy—unite under my power, for I am the only universal power of all powers and ruler of the world and we will go together' " (*op. cit.*, p. 251).

Can we find in this and similar passages any foreshadowing of the situation with regard to the Action Française and the turning away from the conservative parties in favor of Christian socialism and similar doctrines, and perhaps, irony of ironies! in some of the actions of the papal missions to Russia and the encomia of the Living Church by Bishop d'Herbigny, before the turn of events nullified these hopes and called forth the latest Papal appeal against the Soviet rulers?

On the other hand Dostoyevsky does pay a tribute to the zeal and the devotion of the Roman Catholic priests in England. "The Catholic priest investigates and makes his way into the family of some poor workman. He will for example find a sick man lying in refuse on a damp floor, surrounded by children rendered wild by hunger and cold, and with a hungry and often a drunken wife. He will feed them all, clothe them, warm them, begin to heal the sick, buy drugs, becomes a friend of the house, and finally he turns all over to Catholicism. Sometimes, however, after the recovery, they drive him away with curses and blows. He does not get weary but goes to others. They drive him away from there; he endures everything, but will convert some one or other" (*Winter Remarks on Summer Impressions*, p. 391).

Thus for Dostoyevsky, whenever he sees the Roman Catholic Church he sees in it an enemy of Russia, of Orthodoxy, and above all he sees the decree of papal infallibility which he pushes to the furthest possible limit. He does not try to modify or interpret this but he takes it in its most literal meaning, and applies that situation to present day relations. In all this he is following the traditional attitude of Russian thought as rendered still more bitter by the general Polish situation. On the other hand he is not at all averse to representing and discussing the serious and

earnest devotion of the clergy and the virtues which are existent and which would be of such great value, if it were not for that fatal doctrine of papal infallibility.

Yet this attitude is but a development of the thought recently expressed by Mussolini that Christianity—and Catholicism in particular—gained because they had taken root in Rome and had thereby fallen under the great tradition of Roman culture and of Roman civilization. It represents substantially the same idea as that of the 28th Canon of the Council of Ephesus, which definitely declared that the primacy was given to Rome because it was the Imperial City, and that Constantinople as New Rome was deserving of second place for that reason. The theory of the Roman Empire as the civilized state and its contacts and interrelations with the Christian Church have many more ramifications than we usually believe and they appear in Russia especially in many places where we would least expect them.

So with the ideas of Dostoyevsky. We need not recount all his outbursts of bitterness against Rome, for few persons have known better to master invective when it served their purpose. Thus in *The Possessed* the half-mad Shatov, in a tirade which certainly contains much of Dostoyevsky's own thoughts, hurls out the following: "Rome deified the people in the state and left as an inheritance to the peoples the state. France during its entire long history was merely an incarnation and development of the idea of the Roman god, and if it has now at last hurled its Roman god into the abyss and has relapsed into atheism which they call socialism, it is only because atheism is really healthier than Roman Catholicism" (*The Possessed*, Vol. I, p. 313). The secret of Dostoyevsky's hate lies in this connection of Rome and the state and it helps explain the story of the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*. In this, perhaps the most striking of all the imaginary conversations with Christ, the Son of God finds himself confronted with an old man who believes that only in the state can man find peace and rest and who therefore undertakes to correct the Gospel to help mankind.

When we pass from the Roman Catholic Church to Protestant-

ism, Dostoyevsky's attitude is perhaps less clear. He never took the trouble to analyze all the different theories of Protestantism. To him as he wrote in the seventies, Protestantism was as characteristic of Germany as Catholicism of France. "On the other hand arises the old Protestantism which has already been protesting against Rome for nineteen centuries, against Rome and its idea, the old pagan idea and the restored Catholic idea, against its worldly thought of ruling humanity over the entire earth, both morally and materially, against its civilization; which was protesting already in the time of Arminius and the Teutoburg forests. This is the German who blindly believes that in him is the renewal of humanity, and not in Catholic civilization. . . . The Protestantism of Luther is a fact: this faith is protesting and merely denying, and if Catholicism should vanish from the earth, Protestantism would probably follow it, because it would have nothing to protest against; it would turn into direct atheism and perish" (*Journal of a Writer*, 1877, pp. 1 f.).

Dostoyevsky was fully aware of the possibilities of schism that came up in the Protestant temperament, however much he might be inclined to speak kindly of it for political reasons. To him it is like a group of peasants who are given a valuable liquid in a vessel. First they reverence the vessel and then they endeavor to transfer their devotion to the liquid and to release it by breaking the vessel. They do this and then become themselves confused and seek a new vessel. "They begin again the quarrel from the very beginning; and then with the first two words they resort to the letter. To this letter they are willing to bow more than to the former, if only they can secure a new vessel; but the quarrel becomes inflamed, the people scatter into mutually hostile groups, and each group carries away for itself a few drops of the valuable liquid that is left in its own special diverse cups of different sizes gathered up anywhere, and it no longer consorts with the other groups. Each wishes to be saved by his own cup and in each separate group new quarrels begin" (*op. cit.*, p. 15). He sees these same characteristics in the Russian Stunde, a branch of the German Baptist movement which was beginning to take root in

southern Russia. To Dostoyevsky this movement among the people, like the fashionable campaign of Lord Radstock for personal evangelism among the upper classes, was of necessity destined to return to the most primitive and pre-Christian elements of religion in order to maintain itself—the sacred dance and prophecy; and the author saw these two elements coming up as the final goal of all these religious leaders in Russia and abroad. The easy attitude of Lord Radstock to grace and faith led to the remark that he had Christ in his pocket, an attitude that could not fail to do harm.

Of the English, like Lord Radstock, Dostoyevsky says: They have like the rest of Europe (excluding Russia) "a passionate thirst for life and a loss of the highest sense of life" (*op. cit.*, 1876, p. 152). "The English in the vast majority are a nation in the highest degree religious; they thirst for faith and seek it constantly, but instead of religion, in spite of the governmental 'Anglican' faith, they are divided into hundreds of sects." "He (Lord Radstock) is an Englishman, but they say he does not belong to the Anglican Church and has broken with it and preaches his own. That is so easy in England; and in America, there are perhaps more sects than we have among our 'dark people.' There are sects of leapers, shakers, convulsionists, Quakers, those who await the millennium, and finally the khlysty (a very old and a universal sect)—you can't count them all. Of course I am not speaking of these sects to ridicule them in comparing them with Lord Radstock, but whoever leaves the true Church and invents his own, even if it is most excellent in appearance, will necessarily end as these sects. And let not the admirers of the lord frown; at the philosophic basis of these very sects, these shakers and khlysty,<sup>1</sup> are often found extraordinarily deep and strong thoughts" (*Journal of a Writer* for 1876, p. 158).

<sup>1</sup> The Khlysty are an obscure but widespread Russian sect. The chief characteristics are: the belief that their leader is a special incarnation of God, and that his words take precedence as a later decree over those of Christ, as they are a further revelation; and a more or less gross application of these ideas. The celebrated Rasputin seems to have been connected with this group. A comparison of the published advertisements of the late Mrs. Augusta Stetson, of

There has been in Russia and outside too little attention paid to the great field of Russian sectarianism; Dostoyevsky had come in contact with it in various places in his eventful life, and he sees Protestantism largely against the same background: as a surging sea of faith in which none of the forms could be permanent, or even relatively so, in the lack of the discipline and conception of the Church.

When Dostoyevsky visited England for a week in 1862, he received a very unfavorable opinion of the English Church. Apparently he did not come in contact with any of the priests who were actively beginning work in the slums of London and so after a statement of the work of the Roman Catholics (see above), he writes: "An Anglican priest will not go to a poor man. He does not admit the poor even into Church, because he has no money to pay for a place on a seat (apparently he refers to the pew system). Marriages between the workmen and in general among the poor are almost regularly illegal, because it is expensive to marry. . . . The Anglican priests and bishops are proud and rich, they live in rich parishes and grow fat in complete quiet of conscience. They are great pedants, very well educated and seriously and importantly believe in their dully-moral virtue, in their right to preach quiet and self-confident morals, to grow fat and live for the rich. This is a religion of the rich and without a mask. At least it is rational and without deceit. These professors of religion convinced to stupidity have only one kind of amusement; it is missionary work. They go out over the whole earth, they go into the depths of Africa, to convert one savage, and they forget the millions of savages in London because they have nothing to pay them. But the rich English and in general all the worshippers of the golden calf there are extraordinarily religious, gloomily, grimly, and uniquely so" (*Winter Remarks on Summer Impressions*, pp. 391 f.).

This is perhaps an over-statement but at any rate it bears out the usual charges brought against the conventional Anglican re-some conceptions of the Christian Scientists, and of the utterances of the leaders of the Khlysty would show startling similarities.



ligion in the eighteenth century and the temperament which continued until the ritualistic movement and the change of attitude in the middle of the nineteenth century. To Dostoyevsky with his emphasis on religion this frigid absorption with morals which has so dominated English and American life seems absurd. The man who could draw a picture of a saintly prostitute like Sonia in *Crime and Punishment*, who was determined to see the good side of every character even amid vice and degradation, could not understand the Western attitude toward sin as a utterly hopeless barrier. It is not worth while to endeavor to bring a counter-charge against the Orthodox Church. It might be true in part, but it was rather among the Russian sectarians that we find the most perfect examples of rigid moralism, a sacrificing of the possibility of living to the theories of conduct which their leaders have preached.

The Russian could not classify his impressions of Anglicanism and of Protestantism as successfully as he could those of the Roman Catholic Church. He never was systematic in anything and he could not find in Germany, which he at times wished to admire, a positive feature which he could apply in his hasty generalizations. The same is true of England. It is easy to criticise these judgments and to declare that they are merely outbursts of passion and of ignorance but they strike with surprising clearness. Perhaps his Orthodoxy was rather more idealized than occasion demanded and his views of the Messianic character of Russia sound false to-day. Nevertheless we would be very wrong if we failed to understand the fundamental outlines of his criticism. He understood clearly that Europe, at least in the highest representatives of its thought, was rejecting Christ, and that Russia was bound to imitate Europe (*Journal of a Writer*, 1873, p. 416).

That is the basis for his argument and he perhaps is not so far wrong as we would like to imagine. But whether it be true or not, it will always be of value for the nations and the Churches to see themselves as others see them, and no Russian author has given such sweeping and arresting views of Western Christianity as has Dostoyevsky, just as no author has so studied the recesses

of the soul and the general revolt against God. He may be wrong in some of his affirmations but in his criticisms and analyses few men are keener than he and most of the Russian theological writers in their attitude toward the West follow more or less consciously in the steps of Dostoyevsky. His ideas are theirs. His criticisms are theirs, and while they may show more judgment and less denunciation, the points which he stresses are in general those attributes of the West which most strongly attract they study and criticism of the Orthodox Church.

## THE MEANING OF THE CROSS

By F. W. BUCKLER, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

Among the significant developments of modern Liberal Protestantism none is more clearly marked than the tendency to belittle or ignore the importance of the Cross. This fact is perhaps most strikingly apparent in modern American Liberalism. To many, the emotional appeal of older days has not merely failed but it has become repulsive. At the best, the answer an inquirer is likely to receive is that it was the result of an unfortunate misunderstanding, but of any real place in the work of Jesus, it has no recognition whatsoever. Jesus Christ, it is said, was merely another of the misunderstood Jewish reformers, who would probably have preserved Jewish political and social integrity had He been heard; all He wished to accomplish was the completion and fulfilment of the Law so that, in the place of an imperfect Law full of loopholes and useless formalism, the Jews have the Sermon on the Mount, as it is generally accepted, as the Perfect Law, in which motive counts as heavily as observance. The result is that the main stress of theological teaching tends to fall on social reform and its conclusions are subordinate to what is called "the social gospel," which is but a programme for the establishment of a *societas perfecta* without any serious theological content.<sup>1</sup> It is not fair, however, to lay the whole of the blame for the discount of the value of the Cross at the door of liberal modernism, which is to some extent a reaction against a morbid cruciolatry which at times appears in Catholicism and elsewhere. The real trouble appears to lie in the fact that the Church has never really evaluated the Cross in terms of the Kingdom of God. From the first the injustice of the sentence and the agony of the Sufferer have

<sup>1</sup> The writer has discussed the significance of this movement more fully in a paper on "The Re-emergence of the Arian Controversy," *Ang. Theol. Rev.*, x (1927), pp. 11-22.

tended to obscure its real significance, and the shame of the Cross has outweighed its triumph. It was, after all, not an apology but a boast of Saint Paul when he said, "But we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling block, and unto Gentiles foolishness: but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God"; while Jesus Himself referred to the Crucifixion as His perfection (Lk. xiii. 32). He rebuked Saint Peter for depreciating its value (Mt. xvi. 22 f.), and He made it the one condition of following Him: "Whosoever doth not bear his own cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple" (Lk. xiv. 27). The Cross, then, cannot be a mere incident in the career of our Lord; it is both the climax of His life—according to His own estimate—and it is the bond between Him and His follower. It is therefore necessary to look beyond the agony and injustice of the Crucifixion in order to discover its meaning.

The starting point for all investigation of the meaning of our Lord's teaching was suggested by Himself—the Kingdom of God—and the object of this paper is to attempt to fix the place of the Cross in the ritual and struggle for that Kingdom. An indication is furnished by a remark made by Him at the Last Supper, "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the Kingdom of God" (Mk. xiv. 25). The next occasion was to be on the Cross (Mk. xv. 36), just before He said the words, "It is finished" (Mk. xv. 37; Jn. xix. 30). The implications of this last drink of sour wine are confirmed by His constant allusions to His death, to the baptism wherewith He must be baptised, and by His reply to Herod to which reference has already been made (Lk. xiii. 32). At the last, His soul was troubled and what should He say? "Father save me from this hour; but for this cause came I unto this hour" (Jn. xii. 27). The Kingdom of God might have come upon them as He cast out devils by the finger of God (Lk. xi. 20 f.); it might be inside each one of His hearers (Lk. xvii. 21); but it could not be established without a rival until its enemy had been overthrown. When Jesus drank the wine on the cross, that had been accom-

plished: He was perfected (Lk. xiii. 32) and the Father was glorified (Jn. xii. 28). He drank it new in the Kingdom of God.

The political theory of Kingship which appears to underlie the whole of our Lord's teaching of the Kingdom of God seems to be derived from the Medo-Persian King—the Great King—through the medium of Alexander the Great and the Seleucids.<sup>2</sup> In the first book of the Maccabees, side by side with the record of the heroic age of the Jews appear notices of Seleucid court ritual and misrule, so that our Lord must have had some knowledge of the system under which the Jews were governed prior to the advent of the Romans. This political system is very simply explained. The King was "the shadow of God"; he delegated the functions of his rule to individuals who were not merely the incarnation of his will but were incorporated into his body by the ritual of the giving and acceptance of a "robe of honour." The robe of honour was a garment which the King either was wearing or had worn, and cast off (whence the Arabic word *Khil'at*—a "cast off" garment) and passed on (Arabic and Hebrew *Khalafa*) to his deputy and successor, who took it up (cf. ἀράτω, Mt. xvi. 24), thereby acknowledging his allegiance to his overlord, his participation in the King's body and his implicit duty to *be* the King in his own sphere of action. He became a member of the kingdom and, indeed, of the King. It is not difficult therefore to detect in the words, "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (Mt. xvi. 24), the complete summary of an oriental vassal's duties. "Come after" reflects the idea contained in the root *khalafa* (*khilāfat*, succession or vicegerency); to deny himself or renounce his own independence implies the acceptance and acknowledgment of his suzerain's overlordship and membership of the King's body: the cross, the robe of honour ("to take up" again reflects the root *khalafa* as does "and follow me"). To translate the passage into the political terminology of the Persian Empire would produce the

<sup>2</sup> For an outline of the political theory of Persian Kingship reference may be made to the writer's paper, "The Oriental Despot" (ANG. THEOL. REV., x, pp. 238-249).

form, "If any man would be my deputy, let him renounce his independence, accept his robe of honour and be one of my followers."<sup>3</sup> Further, the "robe of honour," from another set of names by which it is known, is a symbol of the "shadow of God" (*khalīfatullāh* or *zillullāh*), and the bestowal of a *khil'at* marks the extension of the rule of the King, again implying the inclusion of the recipient into the corporate body of the kingship, or his entry into the kingdom, from the ranks of its subjects.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the Cross satisfies completely the idea of the *khil'at*, which has been first worn by the donor, then set aside and handed on to the follower. It is the *khil'at* of our Lord, and the Cross of shame is the believer's "robe of honour" (cf. Heb. xii. 2).

If this identification of the Cross with the "robe of honour" of the Kingdom of God be accepted, certain expressions and institutions appear to have a technical and more pregnant meaning. First, the word "friend"<sup>5</sup> is a technical term for a man who receives his robe directly from the body of the King, not mediately through one of his vassals; hence the use of the term by our Lord to the Twelve (Jn. xv. 13-15) and to Judas Iscariot (Mt. xxvi. 50), who assumed a "friend's" privilege of direct physical contact with his Lord's body—*i.e.*, the kiss—to betray Him. Similarly in the parable of the Wedding Feast of the King's son, the "friend" was a vassal who had received his robe of honour direct from the King's body and refused to wear it—an act of

<sup>3</sup> In other words, on taking up his Cross the follower becomes a *true heir* (cf. Arabic *Khalfu'sidqun*) to the Kingdom (cf. Mt. xxv. 34; Rom. viii. 17; Heb. x. 17).

<sup>4</sup> For further evidence on the robe of honour see the writer's note in "Two instances of *khil'at* in the Bible" (*J. Th. St.*, xxiii, pp. 197-9), and *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. *Khil'at*.

<sup>5</sup> The word *friend* applies both to the protector and to the party protected and does not seem to imply equality. Hence "the friend of sinners" means the protector of sinners, while "the friend of God" implies "the protected of God." Cf. the writer's note, *J. R. A. S.* (1924), pp. 597, n. 1; 604, n. 4. For useful surveys of the use of the word "friend" v. A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I, 419-421; and E. Peterson, "Der Gottesfreund" (*Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch.*, xlii (1923), 161-202. Neither of these articles, however, indicates (1) the absence of equality or (2) the organic relationship involved in "friendship," though it is noticed in *Xen. Lac. Pol.*, II, 13.



treason, as it implied a declaration of independence; in terms of the Kingdom of God, he was a follower, who had received his Cross direct from the body of his Lord and had refused to take it up. Illustrations of the implications of friendship and robes of honour will be found in plenty in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, where the Cyrus, who is the anointed of the Lord in the Prophet Isaiah (xlv. 1), is portrayed in all his activities. Similarly, the immediate vassal is known as the King's brother, and the Seleucid honour to Jonathan Maccabaeus provides a sufficient illustration of the extent to which the implication of the robe of honour as a symbol of incorporation could be carried (I. Macc. x. 19 ff., 63 ff., 89; xi. 58; xiv. 44).

Another privilege of the "friend" was his right to eat and drink at the same table as his King. The royal feast of bread and wine (*cf.* Gen. xiv. 18) was another exhibition of the common body and blood of the "friend" and his lord. To the extent at least of the common food, they were one and the same body, and this fact was the basis of the *sacramentum* involved, namely that the "friend" undertook, in the absence of the King, to be the King in his own sphere of action, just as the eye is the man in the realm of sight and the ear in the function of hearing. It may be pertinent to indicate that the presence of the King is essential to the efficacy of the feast as one who joins in the feast. This fact is neglected by all doctrines of the Eucharist which rely on a local "Real Presence" as the basis of their efficacy, and it is strange that of all the writers of the sixteenth century, Bucer alone appears to have detected this fact. From the parable of the man without a wedding garment and other evidence of the usages of the East, the acceptance of a "robe of honour" was a prerequisite to participation in the feast. If the Cross is the believer's "robe of honour" (*khil'at*), then the symbolism of the Eucharist lies not in "eating His flesh and drinking His blood" but in incorporation with Him and into His body, so that the communicant pledges himself to be his Christ incarnate in his own sphere of action, and the common feast emphasizes the corporate identity by means of food taken in common with Him.

If this interpretation of the Cross as the "robe of honour" of the Kingdom of God is correct, the next step is the determination of the nature of the function delegated, and that involves the determination of the place of the Cross in the life of Christ.

The teaching of our Lord appears to take the form of a prolonged parable of the Kingdom of God or Divine Sovereignty at war with the Prince of this World, who is the "enemy" of the Kingdom and its members. The traditional assumption, that the "enemy" is sin, is misleading, for Jesus was the "friend"—*i.e.*, the champion and protector—of sinners, and His whole attitude towards the sinner precludes any antagonism or condescension. He appears to have been far happier in their company than in the company of "the righteous." The woman who anointed His feet against His burial was to be honoured wherever His Gospel was preached, but, "had He been a prophet, He would have known she was a sinner," according to the words of His host. His words to the woman taken in adultery were, "Neither do I judge thee, go in peace" ("and sin no more" is clearly an interpolation)—while He definitely stated that publicans and harlots were already within the Kingdom of God, while the "righteous" were outside and refused to come in. The "tares" in the field, then, can hardly be sins or sinners.

The attack on the Prince of this world, however, appears to have been concentrated on the Law. This attack is seen in His steady hostility towards the Scribes and Pharisees as the champions of the Law. The antagonism arose less from their hypocrisy, in the modern sense of the word (implying insincerity), than from *hypocrisy* in the strict sense of acting a part in a play. They aimed at producing the *societas perfecta* which was the necessary preliminary to the coming of the Kingdom of God as represented by the throne of David, and the means by which they sought to accomplish that end was the meticulous observance of the Torah. The individual who failed in any jot or tittle was not only an enemy to his country but the enemy of God, and so the sinner became an outcaste. In reality, they were playing the part of the Prince of this world under the illusion that they were serv-

ing God. This unfortunate position they failed to see and naturally resented the imputation, particularly when it was brought home to them in the form of the rebuke to the ruler of the synagogue (Lk. xiii. 15 ff.) and the parable of the Good Samaritan, where the Priest and the Levite, not from any indifference, but from fear of breaking the Law, left their human duty to be done by a Samaritan. It would seem that behind the word *hypocrite* lay hopeless bafflement rather than indignant scorn, though both may have been present.

The attack on the Law, however, was not without its difficulties. By resorting to the methods of the Prince of this world, or by his aid and patronage (Mt. iv. 8-10), the Kingdom of God would be divided against itself, for the Law was but the law of property of the Hebrews in theological setting and ecclesiastical garb. Moreover the principle of property involved the legitimization of all taking and holding which had been accomplished before its enactment. It would seem that against this principle our Lord placed His own of giving to the uttermost (Mt. v. 42) as the corollary of a bountiful Father instead of a jealous God. If then He resorted to force or legal compulsion or extortion from the Law and its representatives, He would defeat His own ends; hence His solution to the question: "Think not that I came to destroy the law and the prophets: I came not to destroy but to satisfy (*πληρῶσαι*, Mt. v. 17)." In other words, He came to *satisfy* the law once and for all so that man's debt to it would be ended and its own credit gone. That assumption leads directly to the process by which He accomplished His end.

His line of action appears to have been so to act and teach that the Prince of this world was made to appear foolish (*μωρανθῆναι*) and to be cast out (*βληθῆναι ἔξω*). The change of one letter in the Aramaic of "the salt of the earth"—and that only involving the change from its aspirate form—gives "the Prince of the World," and it would seem from its place in the Marcan narrative (Mk. ix) that it was in this sense that our Lord used the expression.<sup>6</sup> If that interpretation is valid, then the course of Jesus

<sup>6</sup> See the writer's note on "The Salt of the Earth" (*J. Th. St.*, in the press).

is clear when once He perceived that the Law was the stumbling-block which hindered men entering the Kingdom. He set out to ridicule the Law and keep Himself free from its clutches. This course, however, could have but one satisfactory conclusion. He must, to complete His work, force the "friends" and champions of the Law on to a dilemma, so that they either must acknowledge Him or break the Law by murdering Him, and that meant the Cross. His impatience with Saint Peter's rebuke is therefore easily understood (Mt. xvi. 21 ff.). Moreover, according to the Fourth Gospel, the Pharisees saw their dilemma, but they were overruled by Caiaphas—that it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not (Jn. xi. 47–51). The accusation of murder against the Priests, however, started with Stephen and lasted; while the Epistle of Saint James sums up the situation completely in the words: "For whosoever shall keep the whole law and yet stumble in one *point*, he is become guilty of all. For he that said, Do not commit adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou dost not commit adultery, but killest, thou art become a transgressor of the law" (James ii. 10–11). This, it seems clear, is a reflection on the Crucifixion.

The subject, then, falls into two parts: first, our Lord's teaching on the Law; secondly, His conduct towards the Law.

First, the main part of His teaching on the Law is most conveniently summarized in the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel. Unfortunately, the exegesis of this chapter has been generally presented as if the chapter were a self-contained whole. It is necessary, however, to turn for the setting and preliminary discourse to the second Gospel (Mk. ix. 33–50). That passage shows conclusively, it is suggested, that the Sermon on the Mount was directed against the disciples' wrong impressions of the nature of the Kingdom which He intended to establish on earth. Their ideas were dominated by the conception of an earthly Kingdom, and their hopes were set on high positions among the privileged nobility (*umarā*) when once it had been set up. It is impossible here to do more than sketch the line of argument, but

the main outlines seem fairly clear. In the Marcan passage, which leads straight into the Matthaean passage (Mt. v. 13 ff.), our Lord shows that they are working on the wrong conception of Kingship, concluding with the words, "Have salt in yourselves and be at peace one with another," the first half of which (making the necessary adjustment of the word Kingdom or Kingship for "salt") suggests a version of "The Kingdom of God is within you, so live at peace among yourselves" (cf. Lk. xvii. 21). The first Gospel changes the whole attitude of the passage, however, from one of censure to praise. The attack, however, continues against the Prince of this world (the salt of the earth), and, passing over verses 14-16, which appear to be misplaced, the rest of the discourse falls into three parts: our Lord's relation to the Law and the Prophets (vv. 17-20); the Law ridiculed (*μωρανθῆναι*, vv. 21-44); and His reconstruction (vv. 45-48). Round these three sections it is possible to group the whole of His teaching on the subject, but space forbids more than a bare summary of conclusions.<sup>7</sup>

In the first section, our Lord has set out to ridicule the Prince of this world and his rule as represented in the Law. He warns His hearers that He does not intend to attempt to break it down (*καταλῦσαι*) but to satisfy it (*πληρῶσαι*), and He proceeds to tell them that the Law and the Prophets were until John, but from that time the gospel of the Kingdom of God is preached and every man is forcing his way into it, but it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the Law to be dropped (Lk. xvi. 16-17; Mt. v. 18 ff.). Whosoever, therefore, breaks one of these trifling commandments (*μίαν τῶν ἐνταλῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων*) provided he teaches men as He does (*οὕτως*), he shall gain admission into the Kingdom; if he acts and teaches in this way, he shall be numbered among the nobility of the Kingdom of God, for unless their conception of what is right before God (*δικαιοσύνη*) is more inclusive (*πλεῖον*) than that of the Scribes and Pharisees (*i.e.*, than the Law most meticulously observed),

<sup>7</sup> See the writer's note on "An idiomatic use of 'the least' in the Synoptic Gospels" (*J. Th. St.*, in the press).

they shall in no wise enter the Kingdom of God (but they will still remain subjects of the law of the Prince of the World).

He then proceeds to deal with the Law, more in detail. "Before the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, it used to be said, 'Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be liable to judgment'; but if you are going to say that, then *I* say unto you (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν) that if a man merely calls his brother a fool he is in danger of hell fire." The increasing severity of the punishment with the decreasing element of crime here surely implies a *reductio ad absurdum*, as Zahn has already pointed out. Rabbinical literature also supplies a comment in pointing out that if a man is guilty of murder for calling his brother a fool, then Jesus must have been guilty of wholesale massacre on more than one occasion! (Mt. xxiii. 17, 19; Lk. xi. 40; xxiv. 25). Similarly, he handles the case of adultery and, on the law of divorce, He shows that though the divorced wife, if guilty, is free to marry again, yet the virtuous victim of her husband's caprice is bound to him for life, be she wedded or divorced. The real clue to the situation lies in the fact that the law of marriage was part of the law of property which had no place in the Kingdom of Heaven (cf. Mt. xxii. 30). The oath is forbidden outright, with a thrust at the oath by Jerusalem as the *Seleucid's* capital. The *lex talionis* is disposed of, together with the idea of God limiting His love to them that love Him (Mt. v. 45-6; cf. Ex. xx. 5), and He concludes that "if ye love" without hope of reward, and "give to him that asketh of you and from him that would borrow from you, you turn not away," "then shall ye be perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Once, indeed, He vindicated the Law, when He found the law against theft used to protect the possession of swine, forbidden by the Law. The devils however craved the boon, and it was their law! The law of the Sabbath was changed from the master of man to his servant, and the lordship of the "son of man" (any man) over that point of the Law implied his lordship over the whole Law.

So far His teaching carried Him, but His work was not yet finished. To establish this position, and with it the Kingdom of



God on earth, the law had to be discredited finally. To break down the Law by the methods of the Prince of this World would divide the Kingdom of God against itself, and "a kingdom that is divided against itself cannot stand." If He broke the Law, as for instance to establish a "test case," He would merely place Himself within its power. His course lay therefore in satisfying the Law to the uttermost and avoiding all obligation to it, while He pursued His attack by means of His teaching to such a point that He drove the sons of the Law to break the Law in the name of the Law in order to vindicate its majesty and authority. He had neither property nor wife for which He needed its protection; He honoured His Father, and, apparently, Joseph too; He honoured His Mother, apparently winning her from her initial opposition; He attended the proper services at the Temple; paid tribute to Caesar; bore false witness against no man; kept the Sabbath rigidly—asking legal opinion before doing good on the Sabbath,—and ultimately satisfied the Prophets by dying at Jerusalem. Two points were His due—protection from false witness and protection from murder, and in the final stages both of these were denied Him (Mt. xxvi. 59; Mk. xiv. 56-7). Even in His trial he drove first a member of the Sanhedrin to pronounce the blasphemous words, "Art thou then the Son of God?"; then Pontius Pilate to pronounce with his own lips the treasonable words, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" His reply, "Thou hast said," is more pregnant than an affirmative; it fixes the guilt of any blasphemy or treason on the speaker of the blasphemous or treasonable words. Finally, He was pronounced guiltless by the highest court in the land; therefore His crucifixion was not an execution but murder. His crucifixion and the Governor's certificate declaring Him to be dead and permitting His burial completed His triumph, and the "son of man" owed no further allegiance to the Law (cf. Jn. xii. 32; Mk. xiv. 62; Lk. xxii. 69). He had established the Kingdom of God on earth and removed, with the validity of the Law, the power of sin and the disgrace of the sinner. The sacrifice was not to God, but to the righteous, the

Law, and to the Prince of this World, on behalf of every "son of man," even the sinner.

If the Cross then marks the victory of the "son of man" over the Law, then to accept the Cross means the acceptance of that valuation, that the Law is of no account and that the "son of man"—any man—even though he has broken the Law is a son of God if he teaches and acts as Christ. That the perfection of man lies not in the perfect observance of the Law, but in the sacrifice of himself. It implies, too, what Luther called "the priesthood of the believer," that each member of Christ will act as though he was Christ incarnate whenever he sees the need of the presence of Christ. The Cross of shame is the Christian's robe of honour enduing him with "authority from on high" to forgive sins—in fact, to declare sin to be of no account because the Law which declared sin to be an offence against God is no longer valid but shattered—on Calvary. It is not, then, in the agony of the Sufferer but in the irony of the Crucifixion that the meaning of the Cross is to be found; for the Cross of shame is the triumph of Christ and the robe of honour of the believer.

## ANGELS IN THE BOOK OF ENOCH

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### SOURCES \*

(a) A Noachic fragment incorporated in chaps. vi-xiii: A duplication of the fallen angels legend runs through this part of Enoch. The number of the fallen angels is set at two hundred, which suggests a combination of two groups led by two chiefs. Indeed, Semjaza and Azazel are rivals for the place of the arch-fiend. (vi. 3: "Semjaza their leader"; viii. 1: "Azazel taught men to make swords";—here he is independent of Semjaza, and is mentioned before him; ix. 6: "see what Azazel hath done"; ix. 7: "and Semjaza . . ."; x. 4: "bind Azazel"; x. 11: "announce to Semjaza"; xiii. 1: "Azazel, thou shalt find no peace"; xiii. 3: "then . . . I spake to them all together.")

The two currents of ideas belong to two sources. In the earlier stratum of Enoch (The Dream Vision, lxxxvi ff.) one angel is said to have led the way. No organized plot is implied there. The first star is no leader of his comrades such as Semjaza appears to be. The sins imputed to the angels are adultery and bloodshed, but not idolatry or witchcraft. The Similitudes, on the other hand, stress the rebellious nature of the fallen angels (liv. 6: "they have become subject to Satan"), also the Noachic fragments that are combined with the Similitudes (lxviii. 4: "they do as if they were like the Lord"). Their fall was not due to lust after the daughters of men. They rather seem to form the host of the satanic anti-lord, a rival power to the host of heaven (lxix. 6: "he led astray Eve," which implies that from

\* Part of a thesis, "Light on Enoch from Rabbinics and Mythology," presented to the Faculty of Yale University, June, 1929. For additional treatment of the sources and compilation of the Book of Enoch see my article, "The Constituent Parts of the Book of Enoch," in *The Review and Expositor*, April, 1930.

the very beginning the chiefs of the fallen angels opposed the will of God).

In this part of Enoch the spheres of action of Semjaza and Azazel are well marked. Azazel causes moral corruption and bloodshed to take root in the world (viii. 7), while Semjaza is charged with disclosing secrets to men (viii. 8). As noted above, Semjaza is the ruler of the conspirators (vi. 3, ix. 7) in the manner of Sataniel in 2 En. vii. 18 and Satan in PRE 13: "he took his (the Satan's) band along and descended," and in *Habahir* 60: "Samael made an insurrection." \*

The etymology of Semjaza points in the direction of the Semjaza version belonging to another sphere of ideas than that of the Azazel version. Cohut (*Angelologie*) derives Semjaza from the Persian and equates it with the "Shamgaz" mentioned in TB Sabbath 67. That inconspicuous figure, however, occasionally mentioned among other petty mischief-makers, fits ill as an equivalent of the arch-leader of the demonic forces. Then, Semjaza is mentioned in the Talmud (*Niddah* 61) under the form of Shamhazai. There is no reason why another form should be used there. Ginzberg (*Leg.* vii. 56) advances the conjecture that Semjaza represents "Jehoaza," the letters of the divine name (Jeho) having been changed to "Shem" in order to avoid profanation of the holy name in attaching it to a name of a fallen angel.

Against the latter conjecture it can be argued that (1) such a theophorous formation is unusual for an angelic name (Jaol, Ap. Ab. x, xii, Mas. Asil., was originally a divine name conferred upon the arch-angel. In 3 En. x. 3, vi. 1, xiii, xix, xx, xxii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii the higher orders of angels have the tetragrammaton as a part of their name) of an inferior order (the fallen angels are of a lower class: xvi. 2: "You knew worthless mysteries"; likewise in Jub. ii. 2, 18; iv. 15: the watchers,—a class lower than the other two classes of the Presence and of Sanctification—descended); (2) No such name has been preserved in Gnostic writings, whereas Azazel, Asael, Azza, Uzza amply

\* For explanation of abbreviations, see note at the end of this article.

occur in that literature as celestial beings (3 En., Introduction, 168 note 9).

Goldsmith (Int. to his Hebrew translation of Enoch) proposes to read Samya Azza for Semjaza. This reading can be upheld by numerous evidences from Cabbalistic sources where Samael—"the blind"—is identified with Azza or Azazel. Emphasis is laid on Azza being blinded (one of his eyes is closed: Zohar iii. 208 a; YRI 28, 121, iii. 45, iv. 92). He is identified with Samael (YRI 2, 69: "a gift to Azazel—to Samael"). Both are in charge of the desert (YRI 145, ii. 163, 168: "the prince of the desert is bound," they [the calf-worshippers] danced in honor of Mars; iii. 52: "the scape-goat sent to Azazel was presented as a gift to Samael"; Ap. Ab.: "snake-Azazel"—thus Azazel is equated with Satan the seducer of Adam and Eve; YR ii. 222: "Mars and the goat are Samael's"; YR i. 56: "the primordial snake-goat ("Ez"); YR iii. 22: "Mars Samael is bound before Jupiter-Michael").

The above identification of Samael with Azza-Azazel is the more probable since the Arabic name of the planet Mars is 'Uzza. The seemingly irregular motion of that planet attracted the attention of the ancients and gave rise to many speculations among the Greeks (see "The Cosmol. Ideas of the Greeks," in *Popular Astronomy*, by Hector Macpherson). This observation would admirably fit in with the charge laid to the guilty stars that they "did not come out at the appointed time": xviii. 15. Pistis Sophia, likewise, attests that Semjaza goes back to Samia and Azza (see *Pistis Sophia*, ed. Schmidt, p. 10, 21; ed. Horner, p. 8: Σαμα Ωζζα).

Thus Semjaza is more allied to the "insurrection" phase of the fallen angels legend, while Azael represents the original "lust version." The latter is traceable to a literal interpretation of Gen. vi. 4, while the former betrays signs of mythological influence, being modeled on the Tiamat and Titan legends. The powers of defection are bound under the hills (x. 12: on the analogy of the Titans) or in the water-springs (lxvii. 5, 11: suggestive of the fate of Tiamat and her associates, the monsters

of the great deep). It is noteworthy that "the seven wicked spirits" in the Babylonian lore have their abode in the mountains of sunset. The scorpion man and his wife (in the Gilgamesh epic) occupy the Mashu mountains (corresponding to the mountains of darkness in the Jewish lore) in the north. The Cabbala, in the same way as 1 En. lxvii, brought the mountains into relation with the "water" version: Zohar i. 9: "They (the demons, the mysterious Afrira and Kastimon) go in the Tehom and bathe in the great sea. When they reach the place of Azza and Azael, they (the latter) leap into the mountain of darkness, for they fear the day of the great judgment has come. . . ."

Another indication of the composite nature of this section is the discrepancy between vi and viii about the number of the leaders: twenty in the former, seven in the latter. In other sections of the book number seven seems to predominate: xviii. 3: number of the rebellious stars—seven; lxix. 2: seven archdemons are given; xc. 21: the seven archangels bring the stars; the latter we may infer are seven in number. A comparison with the Ruha and the seven planets descending upon the Mount of Carmel in the Mandaean literature suggests itself (as pointed out by Odeberg, *Int. to 3 En.*, p. 77). In Babylonian incantation texts the seven appear invariably as evil spirits (cf. Luke xi. 24–6: "seven other spirits more evil than himself"). Origen (*Contra Celsum*, v. 52) knew of the seventy angels. That number could be obtained by taking as a basis the seven archleaders given in viii, every one of whom has under his command ten inferior angels (vi. 8).  $7 \times 10 = 70$ .

We may therefore assume that the figure of two hundred fallen angels, as well as the figure twenty for their leaders, is a free invention of the editor who combined the two versions of Semjaza and Azazel into one. He probably had the same tradition as the writer of the Similitudes (lxix. 3) that the fallen angels consisted of decimal divisions.

The compound form in x. 1: Asarjalaljor may be decomposed into Sariel and Uriel. This form is due to the running together of two sources: in one source Uriel was the angel of revelation



sent to Noah to warn him of what was to take place; in the other source it was Sariel. The latter cannot be regarded as the equivalent of Uriel (as held by Ginzberg, *Unbekannte Sekte*, 37) but of Rafael (Cohut, *Angelologie*). The combined evidence of the Ethiopic versions in ix. 1 (all but M) points to the conclusion that the four archangels were Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel (T 2, II mss. give Michael, Gabriel, Surian, and Urian; GA and T 1 U omit Uriel, Suriel, respectively. Rafael is not mentioned in any of these mss.). Indeed a passage in Raziel that is strikingly parallel to the Noachic fragments relegates to Rafael the mission of apprising Noah of the impending disaster:

Raziel: "and in the 500th year of his life the earth had become corrupt and all flesh corrupted its way upon the earth. So the cry of the earth went up to heaven to the Throne of His glory. Then Rafael was sent to him and told him: I have been sent to thee by the word of God to *heal the earth* and to declare to thee what thou shouldest do that thou mayest escape. . . ."

The corresponding passages in Enoch are l. 1: "in the year 500 . . ."; viii. 3: "their cry went up to heaven"; x. 3: "and now *instruct* him that he may *escape*"; x. 7: "and proclaim the *healing of the earth*."

The italicized phrases are of special significance as elucidating the meaning of the Enochic passages. Rafael teaches Noah how to construct the ark; this is the "instruction" alluded to in x. 3. In the Hebrew Book of Noah (*Sefer Noah*), likewise, it is Rafael who instructs Noah in the secrets of medicine and conveys to him the means whereby the destructive work of the wicked spirits may be undone. Rafael, according to that book, accomplishes two tasks; he imprisons the demonic spirits and reveals sacred knowledge to Noah. This double charge is alluded to in the Ethiopic version which inserts Ka'aba (again) in verse 4 (it is omitted in G<sup>a</sup>, G<sup>b</sup>). In general, Rafael seems to have been especially popular with the Noachic writers. In lxviii. 2, 3, 4 (a Noachic fragment), he is put on the same level as Michael: both stand nearest to the Throne of Glory. Other proofs of the equation Suriel = Rafael are obtained from the congruity of their functions. Rafael is the underworld angel in xxii. It is probable that Rafael

had originally to do with Hades (Rafaim = Rafael) as suggested by Ginzberg (*Leg.* vi. 46). His appellation Labiel (Labi-el in *Midrash Kohen*)—Leopard—corresponds to the Babylonian Ne-Urn-gal (Nergal)—the Lion-Lord. Rafael is the netherworld angel in the triad Michael-Gabriel-Rafael. The association of Rafael with the underworld led to his identification with the Mercaba—ox (PRE 4: the ox on the west; cf. 1 En. xxii. 1: "to the west"; YR iv. 6: the ox on the west—Rafael; *Pesikta Rab-bati*: "ten commandments"; YR i. 19: "He said to the prince of darkness who is like an ox, 'Get thee hence from before me'" (*sur Mealai*): a word-play on Shor-Sur. Cf. the Egyptian Osiris-apis Nile bull and the Babylonian *am-gig-abzu*, Black bull of Apsu. The Egyptian cow-goddess Thator is mistress of the underworld (*Proceedings of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, 1897, 144).

In the Cabbala Suriel or Suria-Iasriel is in charge of the souls and of the underworld: e.g. Zohar ii.: "Wayakhel"; over the souls of the righteous to bring them to heaven there is one angel appointed whose name is Suria . . . (In En. xx. (G<sup>5</sup>) Suriel is placed over the souls of the sinners, thus discharging partly the task of Rafael—"over the souls of men"). YR ii. 106: "Jesriel who has the seventy keys of the depths holds the water back."

Thus we may assume that Suriel in ix is the equivalent of Rafael. Hence Asarjalaljor in x. 1 is a combination of Uriel and Sariel. The Noachic fragment compiled by the editor with the original version preferred Rafael-Sariel as the angel of revelation.

(b) Chaps. xx-xxxvi: the number of the chief angels seems to differ here from the one given in chaps. ix-x. Seven watchers are enumerated here while only four archangels play a part in the former section. Yet it would be unwarranted to draw therefrom a conclusion that the two sections are disparate and go back to different authors. It would be enough to cite PRE 4 to see that the two conceptions can be brought into perfect agreement. PRE 4: "Four groups of angels are praising, Michael on His

right, Gabriel on His left, Uriel to the front,\* Rafael from behind, and the seven first created angels are serving before him." The seven angels correspond to "the seven *first* white ones" in En. xc. 21.

There is an indication in lxxxvii. 2 that the number seven is composed of a four- and a three-angel group: "four went forth from that place and three with them." A line is drawn between the four whose functions are the same as in chap. x, and the other three who are raising Noah to the lofty tower and setting him down again. In Rev. viii-ix a distinction is likewise made between the first four and the last three angels although they all constitute the inner circle nearest to the Throne. Three-angel groups are met with in rabbinics: Gen R 84, *Yalkut Meshiri Yayishlach*: three angels accompanied Joseph; Ysh I 119, Gen R 68, Ysh II 4, PR "Bayom Hashemini": "an angel is a third of the world." TB Chulin 89: "three groups of angels are uttering songs."

Furthermore, we have definite indications that the four arch-angels are assigned to the four quarters of the world. Rafael is in the west (xxii) at the place of the setting sun where the spirits of the dead, by way of analogy, are said to go. Michael is in the south (xviii. 6; these mountains are identical with the southern mountains of fire in Jubilees viii), Gabriel in the east, over Paradise. Uriel is over the place of Chaos (xxi), where there is neither heaven nor earth. The description of the place suggests the "open" and "incomplete" quarter in rabbinics—the North. See TB BaB 25a: "the northern side is not enclosed"; PRE: "the northern quarter is incomplete—it serves as a dwelling place for demons and evil spirits. Outside of the inhabited land there are treasures of hell fire . . . the place of Samael's hosts. The north is not enclosed, as it is said: 'He stretched the north on tohu (chaos).'" Tadshe (a Midrash that drew extensively upon apocryphal literature; see Charles' Introduction to *Jubilees*): "The north is open; every evil spirit comes therefrom."

The above arrangement is found in some rabbinical sources:

\* Of the Throne of Glory.

NuR 2, PR 45: Gabriel to the east corresponding to Judah (strength, kingship), Uriel to the left—over Dan (idolatry, darkness); Rafael to the west—over Ephraim (to heal the breach of Jeroboam); Michael to the south—over Reuben.

There is no discrepancy, therefore, between the seven and the four group schemes. vi-xiii and xx ff. might be written by the same hand.

(c) Two sources in xx-xxxvi: From xx we might expect Gabriel who is over Paradise to be the speaker in xxxii. 6, instead of Rafael. The former is, indeed, normally connected with Paradise in rabbinics: *Seder Gan Eden*: he heralds the advent of God to the righteous in Paradise at the midnight hour: *Midrash Ruth*, "wayovo": a voice is roused from the north to the place which is called Gabriel (the north is the midnight point: Gabriel is the heavenly rooster: a play on the ambiguous word "Geber": Gabriel's heralding is connected with the crowing of the rooster). *Pirke Meshiah*: "then Gabriel comes to Paradise." He is also a chthonic angel. He makes the fruit ripe (TB *Sanhedrin* 95: "When thou goest to make fruits ripe." By association of ideas he is charged with introducing the soul into the body (*Zohar*, ii, *Yalkut Hadash Malachim* 65), being the angel of fertility. What is more probable than that Gabriel was generally known to be associated with Paradise and hence his rôle as bringing about growth and ripeness?

Uriel instead of Sariel (xx. 6 G\*) or Saraqael (Ethiopic version) is the speaker in xxvii. 2. As will be shown later the "Uriel" version is peculiar to the source designated J 2 C. The chaps. xx-xxxvi represent a compilation of two sources: in the one, the angels are showing to Enoch, each one in turn, the parts of the earth assigned to their control; in the other, Uriel is the only angel revealing the secret things to Enoch. The compiler, having before him the chap. xx in which Rafael followed on Uriel, introduced him in xxxii as coming next to Uriel, whose name appeared in the second account (J 2 C) incorporated in chap. xxvii.

Chaps. xxxiii-xxxvi is a doublet of xxi-xxxii. In the latter

Enoch goes in the northwest-southeast direction under the guidance of the seven archangels; in the former he follows the same route accompanied by Uriel.

The two sources represent two entirely different views of Cosmology. A comparison with rabbinics will bring out more clearly the respective views: TB *Baba Bathra* 25b: R. Eliezer says: "the world is like an *aksadra* (hall) and the northern quarter is not enclosed; as soon as the sun reaches the northwestern corner it goes up to heaven." R. Joshua says: "the world is like a *Kuba* (an enclosed chamber) and as soon as the sun reaches the northwestern corner, it goes round behind the *Kipa* (the vault of heaven) as it is said 'and it turneth about unto the north' (Ecclesiastes i. 6)."

R. Eliezer, the Shamaite, holds the traditional folkloristic view that the luminaries return to heaven in the night. They are the heavenly host, divine messengers. After they have accomplished their day's task, they go back to their heavenly chambers. The north is regarded as the open "incomplete" quarter, the seat of infernal forces, the more so since the rays of the sun never reach there.

R. Joshua, the reputed scholar who was known for his intercourse with the Athenian sages (TB *Berochoth* 7, 8) frequenting the court (TB *Sanhedrin* 90) holding discourse with the Alexandrian intellectuals (TB *Nidda* 61), tends to the more scientific view regarding the world as enclosed on all sides by the heavens. The sun does not go up to heaven in the night. For the sake of symmetry it is supposed to circumvent the north at night (cf. lxxii. 5: "sets and returns through the north") while in the daytime it traverses the southern quarter. The reason why it is not visible at night is the circumstance that it passes behind the part of heaven which encloses that quarter. The scheme of portals is employed to explain the sun's appearance on and disappearance from the horizon.

The Rabbis make the matter a point of dispute between the Jewish and the Gentile sages. TB *Pesachim* 94: The Jewish sages say, the sun is at night above the firmament. Raziel: in

that land they (the ends of the earth) come in contact with the firmament, as it is said in the books of the Gentile sages that the firmament is on all sides of the earth, but in the books of the Jewish sages (it is asserted) that the firmament is not touching (the earth) in the northern quarter . . . and He left the north open, for the Shekina is in the west.

Bearing on the two views concerning the configuration of the earth are the views regarding the luminaries as animated intelligent beings or inanimated, thoroughly material bodies, respectively. According to the conservative view, the luminaries ascend to heaven at night to join in the chanting of the Mercaba angels. They are accordingly endowed with supernatural wisdom. The scientific version, however, deprives them of consciousness. The *Book of Celestial Physics* (chh. lxxii-lxxxii) represents them as governed by firmly established laws and moving with a most precise, regular mechanical motion. Contrast this with the description given in the other parts of Enoch: the stars transgress the command of the Lord and are punished for their disobedience (xxviii); Raguel through the fiery river takes revenge on the luminaries (xx); the sun and moon praise the Lord and abide by His oath (xli. 5, 7), serve for a blessing or a curse; lightnings and stars He calls by their names and they hear Him (xliii. 1); they enter their (heavenly) chambers whence they proceed into the presence of the Holy Ones (lxx. 4).

In Chaps. xxxiii-xxxvi the earth is represented as closed on all sides by the heavens. We meet here with the cosmological features so much characteristic of lxxii-lxxxii: portals for the luminaries and for the winds. Hence, xxiii-xxxvi (as well as a part of the preceding section, notably xxvii) belong to a separate source akin to the *Book of Celestial Physics*.

(d) Chaps. lxx-lxxi—an account of Enoch's final translation: Charles (Commentary ad loc.) and Appel (*Die Composition d. Eth. Henochbuchs*, 43 ff.) regard lxxi as a fragment of a different version of Enoch's heavenly journey. Parallels from rabbinics, however, point to the conclusion that the chapter describes



Enoch's final translation and is, therefore, a fitting close of a source outlining his career and journeys.

Michael is the angel of revelation or wisdom. (In other parts it is Uriel; cf. YR ii. 145: the princes of the Torah are Sangazael and Michael. Sangazael is, generally, the equivalent of Uriel.) He initiates Enoch into the secrets of wisdom to prepare him for his heavenly career as the Son of Man. Cf. 3 Enoch, where Enoch, likewise, is instructed into the secrets of wisdom so as to make him fit for his unique position—the metatron phase of his being; 3 En. x. 5: for the prince of wisdom and the prince of understanding are serving unto him to teach him the wisdom of the higher world and of the lower world. "I also have appointed him over all the treasures of the Hecaloth, of the Araboth and the treasures of life." Cf. lxxi. 3: "introduced me to all the secrets of righteousness." See further 3 En. iv. 9: "immediately all of them stood up and came out to meet me and bowed down before me. . . ." Cf. lxxi. 9: "and there came forth many holy angels." The similarity of the two descriptions in 1 and 3 Enoch makes it appear more than probable that we have in lxxi an account of Enoch's final translation, Michael acting the rôle of Anpiel in 3 Enoch. Michael is also said in *Zohar* i. 125b to greet the ascending soul: When the soul merits to enter the upper Jerusalem (Paradise) Michael goes with it and greets it. Cf. lxxi. 3: Michael seized me by my right hand and lifted me up; 14: "and he came to me and *greeted me*."

Chh. lxx–lxxi give the gradual process of Enoch's elevation: to the earthly Paradise (lxx), to the first heaven (lxxi. 1–4), to the heaven of heavens (lxxi. 5 ff.). Cf. *Midrash Ruth*: "and Enoch went from this world and was withdrawn little by little until he became . . . Metatron."

According to Nachmanides (in *Shaar Hagemul*) and Jacob B. Machir (in *Abkath Rochel*) the soul tarries for a certain time in the earthly Paradise until at last it is accorded to ascend to the heavenly Paradise: in those twelve months the soul is still partaking of its erstwhile corporeal nature in Paradise which is the gate of heaven. . . . The Holy One, blessed be He, withdraws it

gradually from its earthly nature in this earthly Paradise . . . until it ascends to the house of God, the upper Paradise, the Holy of Holies. . . . The Zohar (*Wayishloich*) assigns the lower soul (*Nefesh*) to the realm of shades, the spirit (*Ruah*) to the earthly Paradise, the higher soul (*Neshamah*) to the heavenly Paradise. (Cf. lxxi. 1: my spirit was hidden; 11: "my whole body melted away and my spirit was transfigured.")

Appel (*ibid.*) thinks to have found a discrepancy between lxx and lxxi in that in the former chapter Enoch is translated to the earthly, in the latter to the heavenly, Paradise. He regards Chap. lxx itself as composite because, in verse 1, Enoch is said to have ascended to the Son of Man while in verse 3 he is said to have been placed in the northwestern earthly Paradise; the Son of Man, however, is evidently a celestial inhabitant. Yet it seems in later Jewish writings Paradise is the seat of the Messiah (= Son of Man): *Seder Gan Eden, Midrash Konen, Zohar* iii. 196b. In the last passage we meet with a close parallel to the Enoch description of the bliss of the righteous that behold the glory of the "hidden" Messiah: their dwellings above, also below. Many, many spirits and souls are promenading and delighting in the scent and the pleasure of the righteous . . . prayer for the life of people and praise of the Holy One, blessed be He. So they give thanks and pronounce prayer . . . all that takes place in the lower (earthly) Paradise. And the Holy One shows them a certain hidden palace where crowns are being prepared for the Holy King.

The atmosphere of the Zohar passage is much the same as in Enoch; cf. xlv. 3: "their mansions will be innumerable, their souls will grow strong when they see the elect ones"; xxxix. 5: "they petition and intercede for the children of men"; 7: "their mouth full of blessing." The hidden innermost hall, the seat of the Messianic king, is revealed to the elect righteous. It is, according to the Zohar passage, in the "lower" Paradise. That Messiah dwells in the northern Paradise together with the patriarchs is a notion fundamental with the mystics. In the Cabbalistic writings the northern orientation of Paradise is made the occasion for

a highly poetical description of the rapturous singing of the saints in Paradise in the midnight hour when the heavenly rooster (Gabriel = Geber) heralds the arrival of the Lord. The radiance that fills Paradise at that time is a reflection probably of the idea that the midnight sun illumines the northern extremity of the world, its lurid light breaking upon the dwellings of the blessed. (Cf. the Egyptian Durat, the rejoicing of the dead when the sun arrives in that region at night; Hastings, ERE, art. Blest, 706.)

Chh. lxx, lxxi accordingly can be regarded as forming one continuous narrative of Enoch having been transformed in degrees from an earthly man into a heavenly being.

(e) As will be pointed out later, lxx-lxxi form the end of that independent account of Enoch's life. The characteristic peculiarity of that account is the predominance of mythological prototypes. Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek mythological figures are reproduced in Enoch's adventures.

Chh. xvii-xix: These chapters are a doublet of xxi ff. Yet the striking differences between the two sections claim the attention of the scholars. The compiler has put side by side two parallel accounts of Enoch's earthly journey.

The particulars of Enoch's experiences are highly reminiscent of the Gilgamesh epic and Istar's Descent. The "river of fire" (xvii. 5) and "the water of life" (xvii. 4) remind one of the river of fire seen by Gilgamesh and Ishtar having been sprinkled with waters of life. The sources of the rivers (the goal of Gilgamesh's journey) united the healing springs. (Cf. JAOS, 26: pp. 411, 415; see also AJSL, 34: p. 134: "a plant of deep waters imparts eternal youth.") Furthermore, the expression: "the mouth of all the rivers" (xvii. 8) shows that the author was well acquainted with the Babylonian story of adventures into the mysterious region of life and death, darkness and dazzling light (cf. xvii. 3: "and all the lightnings") mingling together. Enoch, like Gilgamesh, meets forms like flaming fire (xvii. 1: cf. the scorpion men = seraphim) and goes to a place never visited by a mortal. xvii. 6: "where no flesh wanders" G<sup>\*</sup>; xix. 3: "and no man will see."

The Hermes legend seems likewise to have been made use of. Professor Montgomery (*Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 25) calls attention to the identification of Hermes with Enoch = Metatron: Armasa = Mitatron. The view that the Enoch legend is indebted in no small measure to the Hermes myth gains more probability by the correspondence in details between the Enoch and Hermes traditions. Hermes hands over to Amon a writing of 365 parts. (Cf. Richard Reitzenstein: "Himmels wanderung," etc., in *Festschrift* in memory of Friedrich Karl Andreas; Leipzig, 1916)—the Syriac Book purported to have been written by Pibechion: cf. 2 Enoch where 366 books are spoken of, 365 hidden ones and one revealed book (namely, 2 Enoch itself). Amon hid the writings in an "adyton" behind seven gates of lead, electron, iron, gold, brass, tin, silver. In the collection of the High Priests' Stories of Memphis, mention is made of seven coasts, some of them of metal, some of precious stones and ivory, in the middle of which the Hermetian book of wisdom lies.

The seven mountains containing the hidden things of heaven (lii. 2) are modeled on the seven gates or coastlands in the Hermes legend. The correspondence in the names of the metals is very close. Soft metals (lii. 2–lxvii. 4) supplement each other: lead in the former, tin in the latter passage complete the number of the required seven metals.

It is to be noted that the Midrashic Hiram legend also utilized the Hermes myth. The Jews heard of the deified pagan sage for whom the heathen legend claimed divine wisdom and immortality. They associated him, through similarity of name, with the self-deified Hiram in Ez. In self-aggrandizement the overbearing king constructed seven metallic heavens. The names of the metals are variously given in *Midrash Hiram* and in YSH ii. 366. On the main they agree with both lists, of Enoch and Hermes.

Closely related to that version of Enoch's journey are the Noachic fragments. The latter refer to the mountains (in lxvii) said to have been shown to Noah by Enoch. The author of the Noachic fragments claims transmission of tradition (namely, of the phase of tradition pointed out above) from Enoch

to Noah (lxviii). The Noachic writer, who belonged to the same circle, made use of the Gilgamesh epic. Noah (lxv. 2) and Methuselah (cvi. 8) going to "the ends of the earth" to visit Enoch suggest Gilgamesh's journey to the mouth of the rivers, the end of the inhabited world, to visit Ut-Napishtim (see JOAS, 38: 60; Ut-Napishtim lives in Paradise instructing his sons). Even the etymology of Noah in the Noachic fragment (cvi. 8: "call his name Noah, for he will be *left* to you") seems to have been influenced by the Babylonian name of the flood-hero. Both in Enoch (x. 3: "that he may escape. His seed may be preserved"; lxvii. 3: "I will make fast thy seed") and in the Babylonian account (*Flood Story*, l. 40: "Thy life save") a name is suggested that has the meaning of "the preserved one" or "survival." Indeed, the Sumerian version (in Clay's *A Hebrew Deluge*, p. 71) has "the preservation of mankind" as one of Zi-ud-sud's titles. See Raziel: "that he may escape." The name "*hapalit*" is applied to Og in the Midrashim for having escaped the flood.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ap. Ab.—Apocalypse Abraham.
- ExR—Exodus Rabbah.
- G<sup>z</sup>—Gizeh Greek.
- G<sup>s</sup>—Syncellus Greek.
- HekR—Hekaloth Rabbah.
- Leg.—Legends of the Jews.
- Mas. As.—Masecheth Asiluth.
- PK—Pesikta Kahana.
- PR—Pesikta Rabbati.
- PM—Psalm Midrash.
- Ps. Jon.—Pseudo-Jonathan.
- Sed. R. I.—Seder Rabbi Ishmael.
- PRE—Pirke Rabbi Eliezer.
- TB—Babylonian Talmud.
- TJ—Palestinian Talmud. ("Talmud Jerushalmi.")
- Tik.—Tikkunim.
- YR—Yalkut Reubeni.
- Ysh—Yalkut Shimoni.

## PLATO AND THE NEW TESTAMENT: PARALLELS

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These parallels<sup>1</sup> are offered, not in support of any theory as to sources or other thesis, but for their intrinsic interest and obvious suggestions. The list is not the result of exhaustive comparison, but depended on my memory of the scriptures while reading Plato through for other purposes. The New Testament order is followed. Citations are made from Matthew only, when the passages are to be found in substance in the other synoptic gospels also.

Matt. v. 39: If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off.

*Symp.* 205e: Men are willing to cut off their feet and hands, if these parts of them seem troublesome to them.

Matt. vi. 24: Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.

*Rep.* 555c: To honor wealth and at the same time adequately to possess soundness of mind among one's fellow-citizens is impossible.

Matt. vii. 13f: Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat; because strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.<sup>2</sup>

*Laws* 718e-719: Hesiod (*Op. et D.*, 287-292) is quoted to the effect that "the way to wickedness is smooth" and can be traversed without sweat, being very short, but before that of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Scott, *Socrates and Christ* (John C. Shaffer lecture at Northwestern University, Evanston (1928), pp. 47-51, nothing in which is here repeated. From the O.T., cf. *Prov.* xvi. 32 and *Laws* 626e; *Prov.* xxx. 8 and *Laws* 679b; but these are in the nature of gnomic commonplaces.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase, "the straight and narrow way," does not occur in the Bible; but arose from a confusion of 'strait' (narrow) with 'straight.' Lucretius describes (vi. 27f) a way to the *summum bonum* "tramite parvo qua possemus ad id recto contendere cursu."



virtue the immortal gods have put sweat, and long and steep is the path to it and rough at first; but when you reach the height, then accordingly it is easy to bear for all its difficulty.<sup>3</sup>

Matt. xii. 43-45: Of the unclean spirit leaving the house and later returning with others upon finding it swept and garnished.

*Rep.* 560de: Then modesty, which they call silliness, is ignominiously thrust into exile by them, and temperance, which they nickname unmanliness, is trampled in the mire and cast forth; they persuade men that moderation and orderly expenditure are vulgarity and meanness, and so, by the help of a rabble of evil appetites, they drive them beyond the border. . . . And when they have emptied and swept clean the soul of him who is now in their power . . . , the next thing is to bring back to their house insolence and anarchy and waste and impudence in bright array, having garlands on their heads, and a great company with them, hymning their praises and calling them by sweet names; insolence they call breeding, and anarchy liberty, and waste magnificence, and impudence courage.<sup>4</sup>

Matt. xvi. 18: The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

*Phaedo* 58e: Even going to the house of Hades . . . he would fare well.

Matt. xvi. 26: For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

*Alc.* II. 141c: And yet in exchange for your soul you would not be willing for the absolute power over all Greeks and barbarians to come to you.

Matt. xix. 23: Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.

*Laws* 743a: But for one who is exceptionally good to be also exceedingly rich is impossible.

Matt. xx. 27: Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.

<sup>3</sup> The quotation of this passage in *Rep.* 364cd varies somewhat (cf. *Prot.* 340d and *Phaedrus* 272c), but the differences are not important for our purpose. Cf. *Xen., Mem.* II. 1. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Jowett translation.

*Laws* 762e: One who has not served could never become a praiseworthy master, and one should pride himself on having served well rather than on having ruled well.

*Laws* 729d: In respect to city and citizens, far the best is he whoever would prefer to Olympic victories, and the winning of all contests in war and peace, to have excelled in the reputation for subservience to his country's laws, as having most nobly of all men served them in his life-time.<sup>5</sup>

Matt. xxii. 14: For many are called but few are chosen.

*Phaedo* 69c: For the thyrsus-bearers are many, but the mystics few.

Matt. xxiii. 27f, with its comparison of hypocrites to whited sepulchres, beautiful without but ugly within, is neatly in converse to *Symp.* 215, with its comparison of Socrates to ugly statues of sileni within which are kept images of the gods.

John vii. 16: My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me.<sup>6</sup>

*Apol.* 20e: For I shall not speak as my word whatever I shall say, but shall refer you to a trustworthy speaker, . . . the god at Delphi.

*Symp.* 177a: For not mine is the tale.

Acts iv. 19: To the commands and threats of the priests, who tried to prevent their preaching and released them on the supposition that they would desist, Peter and John replied, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than to God, judge ye."

Acts v. 29: We ought to obey God rather than men.

*Apol.* 29cd: If in respect to this you should say to me, "Socrates, . . . we are going to let you off, on this condition, however, that you will no longer pass your time in this pursuit and philosophize; but if you shall be caught still doing this, you will

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Matt. viii. 9 (For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me) and the Persians of whom Xenophon (*Anab.* I. ix. 4) said that they learned to rule and be ruled.

<sup>6</sup> If John wrote the fourth gospel, his suppressing of his own identity under the phrase 'the other disciple' was like the modest vagueness of the single reference in the *Phaedo* (59b), "But Plato, I think, was sick."

be put to death"; if then, as I say, you should let me off on these terms, I should say to you, "I greet you with love, fellow Athenians, but I shall obey God rather than you."

Acts xx. 24: But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course. (The 'things' are 'bonds and afflictions.')

*Crito* 48d: I hardly think that I should calculate whether I must die, if I remain here and am inactive, or must suffer anything else whatsoever, as compared with wrong-doing.

Rom. vii. 24: Who shall deliver me from this body of death? Cf. the frequent concept of the body being the tomb of the soul, as in *Gorg.* 493a and *Crat.* 400c.

Rom. viii. 28: We know that all things work together for good to them that love God.

*Rep.* 613a: Obviously it must be thus inferred about the righteous man that, whether he live in poverty or in disease or in any other of the supposed evils, these things will result in something good for him living and dead. For clearly he will never be neglected by the gods, whoever wills to be zealous in becoming righteous and, through practicing virtue, in making himself, as far as man may, like God.

I Cor. i. 18-24: This whole context about the incompatibility of the two views, culminating in the statement that the gospel is "unto the Greeks foolishness," suggests *Crito* 49d: Between those who are so persuaded (that one should not retaliate) and those who are not there can be no discussion in common, but it is inevitable that they should despise one another, observing each other's ways of thinking.

I Cor. vi. 19: That 'the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost' has a certain parallel in the assertion in *Laws* 869b that one who kills a parent is guilty of assault, impiety and temple-robbery.

I Cor. ix. 26: So fight I, not as one that beateth the air. This claim, with its slang of the ring (rather, 'skin' or 'bruise' the air), is elaborately annotated by *Laws* 830abc with a description

<sup>7</sup> Acts ix. 5 contains an old Greek proverb (see L. and S., *Lex.*, s.v. λακτίζω), and Acts xvii. 28 the familiar quotation from the Hymn of Cleanthes.

of sparring partners, dummies and finally one's shadow (cf. *Apol.* 18d) as opponents in preparation for a match.

Eph. vi. 4: Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath.

*Laws* 793e: It is not right, punishing in a passion, to instill anger in the (children) punished.

Phil. iii. 19: The phrase 'whose glory is in their shame' appears, though with different wording in the Greek, in *Theaet.* 176d.<sup>8</sup>

Heb. xii. 2: Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.

The verb should really be rendered 'looking away' and is of a piece with those passages in Plato, too numerous to quote, in which he speaks of looking away from the object, deed, word immediately at hand to the transcendent idea or other pattern. Cf. *quo referentes* in *Lucr.* I, 424 and 699, and, in *Cicero's De Senectute*, XIII, 43, the mention of the Epicureans as *referring* all considerations to pleasure. The Latin lacks the picturesque feature of the Greek, but has the same thought of interpreting what one is considering in terms of something else apart.

Heb. xii. 2: Endured the cross, despising the shame.

Socrates uses the same Greek word in telling how Achilles *despised* danger in comparison with disgrace, and accepted death. (*Apol.* 28c.) So in the *Gorgias* (480c), he says that one should seek the discipline of punishment in the pursuit of virtue, even unto death, *not counting pain*.

I Pet. ii. 23: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again.

*Crito* 50e: οὔτε κακῶς ἀκούοντα ἀντιλέγειν.

Of the garish description of the New Jerusalem in *Rev.* xxi. 12ff, one is strongly reminded in *Critias* 116cd; and it may not be frivolous to connect with Plato's ideal city of the *Laws*, situated preferably inland (704), the clause from the first verse of this chapter, "and there was no more sea."

<sup>8</sup> With the phrase in this same verse 'whose god is their belly,' cf. *Eur., Cycl.* 335 and its comic atheism.

## ECONOMIC MESSIANISM AND THE TEACHING OF JESUS

By FREDERICK C. GRANT, Western Theological Seminary

In two earlier articles on "The Economic Significance of Messianism" (ATR VI: 3 and VII: 3), we have endeavored to prove that Messianism originated in and was sustained by the collision between an ardent, intransigent faith in the absolute sovereignty of God and untoward economic conditions—intolerable conditions, for this faith.\* If this be true, the question may be asked, Why did our Lord adopt Messianism as the vehicle of his message? Why did he retain the idea at all? Why did he refer to a coming kingdom; to a divine Son of Man who is to appear on clouds of glory, to a world-judgment, a throne surrounded with angels, and all the machinery, literal or symbolic, of the Messianic hope?

(1) For one thing, there was after all much of truth in it, as indeed we might expect from the continuous travail of brave, confident spirits through generation after generation of ever purer faith. "Jewish Apocalyptic, albeit bizarre to modern eyes, was no ignoble thing. The eternal optimism, which is of the essence of true religion, expresses itself in different forms in different epochs. To men appalled alike by the corruption and by the irresistible might of Roman civilization, and inheriting the previous religious history of Israel and her prophets, it was an heroic confidence in the Divine intention to regenerate the world that found its most natural expression in terms of the Messianic hope apocalyptically conceived."<sup>1</sup>

If the world is ever really to be saved (and not just a few chosen brands plucked from the burning); if the creation of the

\* See also *The Economic Background of the Gospels*, Oxford, 1926; and "Method in Studying Jesus' Social Teaching" in *Studies in Early Christianity* (ed. S. J. Case), Century, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> Streeter, in *Oxford Synoptic Studies*, 1911, p. 434.

human race, the whole phenomenon of the appearance upon this terrestrial globe of *genus homo*, has any end or purpose which is ever to be realized, it can scarcely be conceived apart from the Kingdom of God which our Lord announced and for which he died. Though the Kingdom never appeared in the precise form which many Jews and early Christians anticipated, it nevertheless stands, at least as a symbol, for an eternal transcendent verity, the perfected relation of the world to God and ultimate Reality. It stands for that life, beyond comprehension, which sustains and animates humanity in its upward strivings toward eternal light. It stands for the goal of creation, not yet attained—of that creation which is still in the hands of its Maker (whose Sabbath has never yet come: "My Father worketh hitherto"), the victorious and completed conquest of evil and imperfection which shall end in the Reign of God, "when God shall be all in all." And though this Kingdom has never yet come in its anticipated form, still there has entered our world a power as of God himself, which has continually and persistently made for righteousness, for sanctity, for regeneration—the spirit of Christ, the Holy Ghost. The strivings of the universe are not ended; but what its final goal shall be, for the revelation of which, as Paul said, it "groans in expectancy," we begin to realize. This final goal, which was so near to our Lord, but which has never yet been attained, he called "the Kingdom of God": the most suitable title afforded by contemporary thought (indeed, he shared the anticipations of his generation in looking forward to its coming), but charged with far greater meaning than his contemporaries realized, with a meaning which the thought of nineteen successive centuries has served only in slight measure to unfold.<sup>2</sup> It is this everlasting Kingdom (which, for all its permanence, must nevertheless "come"), militant in the Church but superior to the Church, which is the end, the goal toward which Christianity still strives and struggles: strives, not to bring about nor to create, but to prepare men for, by repentance and faith—for the King-

<sup>2</sup> For example, we are only today beginning to realize its social applications—or, rather, its implications.



dom's "coming" still rests wholly in the Father's hands. This Kingdom has never come; and yet this Kingdom is sure to come. Its full realization, its manifestation, its "coming," is still in the vast uncharted future; it still lies, as it lay in the days of Jesus, totally outside the reach of human effort, not a political entity created by man, but the divine and all-holy City of God, secure within the heavenly Father's keeping. But of one thing at least the Christian is certain: a world such as this cannot continue forever; a world such as that cannot forever remain unrealized.<sup>3</sup>

(2) Moreover, Messianism furnished the only possible category in which Jesus' own self-revelation could at that time be made. To the men of his generation, there was no other conceivable manifestation of Divinity, of the divine power, wisdom, character (short of the appearance of God himself in all his majesty) which our Lord could have used, than Messiahship, in designating what he knew his own appearance to mean for his own disciples and for humanity in general. Jesus placed himself in the closest imaginable relationship both to God and to the human race. He was conscious of the absolute worth of himself, his indispensable value for history and for humanity. He interposed himself, without the slightest hesitancy or misgiving, between God and the whole human race; and that for the sole purpose of drawing the two closer together. In the final crisis which was coming upon the whole world, the Day of Judgment, he himself was to be the Heaven-appointed Judge, from whose sentence there was no appeal: "Enter into life. . . . Depart from me, ye cursed." The basis of this judgment, the evidence or testimony, should have to do with a personal relationship (albeit unconscious), the relationship of mortal men to the immortal Son of Man (Matthew 25: 31-46; Mark 8: 38; John 5: 22-24; 12: 48), a relationship which is begun, sustained, and perfected in the practice of the righteousness of God, whose first law is charity and mercy.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "The Gospel of the Kingdom" (*Biblical World*, September, 1917), pp. 190-191.

<sup>4</sup> "For Jesus the Messiah-idea was the only possible form of his self-consciousness, and nevertheless, an inadequate form; a necessity, but yet a heavy burden, which he bore in silence almost to the end of his life; a conviction

It is true that "every one of the terms in which men have tried to set forth the Person and work of Jesus—Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, Sacrifice, Passover, Lamb of God, Logos—so far from making Jesus more intelligible to us than he is without them, needs interpretation today. 'These are the accounts that men have given of Jesus Christ, and he has been more than they. He has transcended, he has gone through one picture of him and another, one description and another: he has been more, far more, than any of these conceptions, taken by themselves or taken together, have been able to represent. They are inadequate, and there he is, the great Fact.'"<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, though this be true, we must not forget that the beginning of the interpretation of Jesus was a self-interpretation: he identified himself with the divine Son of Man of the apocalypses of Daniel and Enoch. Let a man accept for himself the Christology of the Catholic Creeds or not, as he will, it cannot be asserted that Christology was any *new* thing, any addition to the original gospel of our Lord, in the year 325, or in the year 110, or the year 85, or 70, or 40, or 30. "Thou art the Messiah," in the words of Peter's confession, contains *just as dogmatic a Christology*, is just as much an expression of faith in terms of an intellectual concept, as the Nicene Creed. Christology began, or rather, was already complete, not only *in posse* but *in esse*, as far as the "exaltation" of our Lord is concerned, when Jesus returned to Galilee in the summer of the year which gave him his inner grasp of himself, but at the same time brought him into insoluble outward difficulties"—Bousset, *Jesus*, 3d ed., p. 82 f. It may be remarked that in his later writings Bousset's views were somewhat altered: e.g., in *Kyrios Christos*. But this does not invalidate what he said in the passage quoted. "Conscious as he was of a unique position involving a great task as well as a supreme authority, he had no other notion in the language of his people to describe this position than that of Messiah"—Dobschütz, *Eschatology of the Gospels*, p. 172 f. Cf. "The Gospel of the Kingdom," Cc. 4 and 5, "The Kingdom and the Messiah" and "The Kingdom and History." See also the art., "The Permanent Value of the Primitive Christian Eschatology," in *Biblical World*, March, 1917 And cf. B. W. Bacon, "The 'Son of Man' in the Usage of Jesus," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xli: 1-2 ("A Symposium on Eschatology"), pp. 143-182.

<sup>5</sup> *Foundations*, by Seven Oxford Men, 1913, p. 160, quoting T. R. Glover, *The Death of Christ*.

27 A.D. The rest was only a translation into accurate Greek philosophical terminology of the symbolic language of Jewish apocalyptic Messianism.

Thus Messianism, which originated as a protest, founded upon unconquerable confidence in God, against the evils of the present, evils which were chiefly economic (and also, therefore, political); which looked forward optimistically and with heroic faith to a good time to come, when God should "raise up His great power" and come among His people; which transmuted all the black despair of crushed and unavailing human effort into jubilant and ecstatic hope in God; which gave up this world unreluctantly for the promise of a world to come; which led men in the days of the Maccabees to refuse to fight on the Sabbath and in the days of Gessius Florus to risk annihilation in a war against Rome; which was the very nerve of Jewish political life, as far as such a political life existed; which was the hope of the oppressed and helpless in a struggle in which they were absolutely foredoomed, as far as this world is concerned; this bizarre hope—not to say delusion—became the vehicle or outward medium of the supreme divine self-revelation! When God became man, He took up this glowing, altogether human dream which the minds and hearts of men had contrived, and it provided the language of His own self-manifestation to them, to the world at large, and to us who live ages after, to whom Messianism seems such a strange, incomprehensible, disordered phantasm. It was a dream, like the dreams of a man in fever, which was destined never to be fulfilled—at least in its most cherished details; which was doomed to final and overwhelming disappointment; and which, nevertheless, God Himself used in the greatest of His acts!

There be many shapes of mystery.  
And many things God makes to be,  
Past hope or fear.  
And the end men looked for cometh not,  
And a path is there where no man thought.  
So hath it fallen here.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The final chorus of the *Bacchae* of Euripides, in the translation by Gilbert Murray.

## NOTES, COMMENTS, AND PROBLEMS

*By* BURTON SCOTT EASTON, General Theological Seminary

In 1928 no less than fifteen archeological expeditions were at work in Palestine. In 1929 this number shrank to nine, but the very slow and laborious work of reconstructing early Palestinian history goes steadily on. As usual, however, the annalist must once again lament that the periods covered by the finds lie for the most part outside the Biblical limits. We monthly learn more and more about the pre-Israelitish period, and the Byzantine age is coming rather startlingly into view, but from B.C. 1250 (say) to A.D. 100 our knowledge is not being very greatly increased. But we may have hopes for the future.

The greatest exception is at Megiddo. Says 1 Kings 4: 26: "And Solomon had four \* thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen." The numbers may be picturesque, but at any rate in Megiddo alone stalls for three hundred horses have been uncovered, together with a substantial building that may have been the residence of the chief of the cavalry. These excavations, moreover, have explained the nature of small stone standing monoliths found elsewhere in Palestine, whose purpose puzzled the experts. They are now seen to be hitching posts for horses.

At Tell en-Nasbeh (Mizpah?) quantities of small objects belonging to about Samuel's era have been recovered, but they are for the most part of interest only to the professional archæologist. The work on this Tell, however, is to go steadily forward until the whole site is completely explored.

The work at Ain Shems (Beth Shemesh) is at an intermediate stage; work on the earlier strata, in which some striking finds were made, is complete and the deeper strata have not yet been penetrated. The middle strata are not thus far yielding much.

\* Not "forty."

Nor has much of consequence been done at Seilun (Shiloh) in 1929. Thus far the more important discoveries belong to the post-Christian age, but no deep excavations have been attempted; until these have been carried out there is nothing to tell us of the Israelitish and possibly pre-Israelitish history of the city.

At Tell el-Fari, in the extreme south, the finds are naturally closely related to Egyptian history, and show that in Hyksos days southern Palestine was under Egyptian rule. The city was burned about the time of the Israelitish invasion, although whether it was destroyed by Jews or Philistines there is nothing to show. Later (ca. B.C. 930) it was reoccupied for a time by the Egyptians and was then abandoned until the Roman period.

Jerash (Gerasa) has restored to light thus far no less than nine Christian churches, mostly of the late fifth or early sixth centuries, but one of the nine—unfortunately in poor condition—may be as early as the fourth. Under the floor of another church have been discovered the remains of a synagogue, with an elaborate mosaic floor. The scene represents the animals leaving the ark, under the supervision of Shem and Japhet, whose names (in Greek) are inlaid in the mosaic; probably Noah and Ham were in a section now mutilated. An excellent reproduction of this mosaic, with full explanations, will be found in the *Revue Biblique* for last April. Unfortunately the date of the synagogue cannot be determined very precisely, but the Christian church above it was built in 530.

A still finer example of synagogue mosaic flooring has been exposed at Beth Alpha in the Valley of Jezreel; in this case, however, an inscription gives the date as under Justin (517-528). This synagogue, lying south of Jerusalem, has its entrance, with a narthex for ablutions, at the north; at the south end is an apse for the officiants, who faced Jerusalem as they ministered. In the center of the nave is a mosaic about twelve feet square, most of which is taken up with the signs of the zodiac arranged in a circle around the sun, pictured as an angelic being drawn in a chariot by four horses. A representation will be found likewise in the April number of the *Revue Biblique* or in the February

number of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. An interesting feature is the extreme naiveté of the design and execution, which would appear to have been carried out by local artists.

We regret to have to record the cessation of publication of the *Princeton Review*. Responsible for this is the "schism" that took place in Princeton Seminary last summer, and the foundation of the Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia by the more conservative group.

The most prominent name in the current necrology is the Earl of Balfour, who was in his eighty-second year. The greater part of his career, of course, belongs to political history, but he most worthily represented the British tradition which regards political achievement as in no way inconsistent with philosophical and even theological production. His *Defence of Philosophic Doubt* was published as long ago as 1879, and was followed fourteen years later by perhaps his most widely read book, *The Foundations of Belief*, which he described as "Notes introductory to the study of theology." In 1914 he delivered the Gifford lectures, choosing *Theism and Humanism* as his title, and in 1923 he published a companion volume, *Theism and Thought*. In addition he issued various volumes of essays and a Romanes lecture on esthetics, *Criticism and Beauty* (1909).

Edward Clodd, who had almost reached the age of ninety, followed banking as his vocation and the study of evolution as his avocation, with especial emphasis on primitive religion. The title of his widely read *Animism: or the Seed of Religion* (1906) gives the general attitude adopted in his long literary output, which began in 1872 with his *The Childhood of the World* and extended through many volumes and encyclopedia articles.

Sir Aubrey Trevor Lawrence, born in 1875, was a barrister and ardent churchman who specialized and wrote on English ecclesiastical law. He was the chancellor of no less than six English dioceses.

Herbert Gardiner Lord, born in 1849 and in his early life a



Presbyterian clergyman, entered the field of psychology as his permanent work.

Charles Lewis Slattery, born in 1867 and since 1922 Bishop of Massachusetts, combined to an extraordinary degree administrative functions of the most active nature with an unremitting literary output. Most of his books were of a devotional nature—including his familiar *Master of the World* (1906)—but he wrote several biographies and biographical sketches, delivered the Paddock lectures in 1911 and the West lectures (at Stanford University) in 1915. Probably, however, the most enduring monument to his memory is the new Prayer Book, whose revision—although not himself a liturgiologist—he supervised.

Although not a theologian, few men have contributed more in America to the progress of theology than Charles Scribner, Junior, the senior of the "Sons" of Charles Scribner, Senior, who died in 1871. The son was born in 1854 and entered the famous firm immediately on his graduation from Princeton in 1875. He carried on his father's policy of using the firm's resources to make available to the world important contributions to theology, despite the frequent certainty of financial loss, and in so doing laid students everywhere under the deepest obligation.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*L'Origine du Code Deuteronomique.* By A. R. Siebens. Paris: Leroux, 1929, pp. 262. Frs. 25.

That there should again be a Deuteronomic problem would have been unbelievable twenty-five years ago. The reviewer has come to the conviction that the whole question of Pentateuchal criticism is in suspense. It is quite evident that after so many first class scholars have written in defense of the Graf-Reuss-Wellhausen theory, much can still be said in its favor. On the whole, Dr. Siebens accepts this theory, although he declares that D was codified *after* 621. His scientific method is excellent. He knows the literature very thoroughly. He has a clear mind. He knows how to limit a problem. An adequate review of his book would be too long. Take for instance the locution *hammaqom asher yibhar Yahve*. The author is right in rejecting the unproved opinion that the article is distributive, but he does not tell us why the writer of the Code should use such a form and not simply mention a certain place by name. Anachronisms were not troublesome in those days. We believe that the name of the sanctuary was left vague on purpose. Dr. Siebens is in favor of the principle commonly accepted by scholars in legal science that "law was originally custom" (pp. 188-190). What becomes then of the account in II Kings 22-23? Or take the case of Hebrew slavery (p. 198); on the basis of the laws in J E, D and P, Dr. Siebens declares that the law of P declares that a Hebrew cannot be the slave of a Hebrew. This is a rather misleading statement. Cf. Lev. 25: 39-46; the word "Hebrew" is not found in that text, a fact which Ibn Ezra noted long ago with great keenness. Is it not because Hebrew and Israelite or Judean are not synonymous terms? In a general way we are inclined to think that the critical school has over-simplified the development of law in Israel. It is by no means self-evident that the various codes were evolved in the same class of society.

Dr. Siebens' work is of great value, even to one who is left unconvinced. It is the best recent statement of the commonly accepted academic documentary theory. It will be a great help to further discussion, since no one can say that now the question is closed, any more than it was twenty-five years ago.

J. A. MAYNARD.

*The Gospel and Its Tributaries.* By Ernest F. Scott. Scribner, 1930, pp. xi + 291. \$2.75.

Dr. E. F. Scott of Union has the brilliant and shining gift of ability to sum up in popular language the fruits of many years of investigation—his own and others'. He has arrived at that vantage-point whence he can discern the steady flow and development in history, over or beneath the details of individual men, local movements, and temporal events; and he is able to put this into language ordinary intelligent readers can comprehend.

In this volume he intended going down to Nicea, but decided in the end to conclude with the New Testament period and the rise of the Catholic Church. The various sources for contributions of thought and religious life to the early Christian movement, Jewish and Hellenistic, are surveyed and evaluated. Paul, the Alexandrian influence, the conflict with heresy,—these are the later tributaries *after* the Church was well started on its steadily growing course. Professor Scott is neither of those who deny all external influence upon Christianity, nor of those who affirm it—equally upon the assumption that such dependence, if proved, implies inferiority. He is interested in facts, in the exact measuring of these various influences, and of the quantity of their contribution, not in the devastating inferences too often and too hastily drawn.

He is not particularly favorable to Judaism, and appears to think the present-day emphasis (*e.g.*, in the books of G. F. Moore, R. T. Herford, the late Wilhelm Bousset, etc.) somewhat exaggerated. His chapter on Judaism reminds one of the brilliantly balanced one in Sanday's *Outlines*. Of our Lord, he has much to say in emphasizing his life of action (*e.g.*, p. 63). "It was not

the object of Jesus to construct a fresh system of knowledge. His purpose was dynamic. From the body of ideas that lay ready to his hand he selected, with unerring instinct, those which were most vital, and so presented them that henceforth they could work with power" (pp. 64 f.). He is quite sure that the early Church viewed itself as a supernatural institution—the sacred *Qâhal* of the True Israel. At the same time he does not recognize any antecedents of the sacraments in this Jewish Christian community, and is inclined to attribute them to Hellenistic influence—though "from the first they had been more than symbolical" (p. 119). "Almost all the characteristics which our religion shared with the mystery cults . . . were common property" (p. 125)—they are no proof of dependence upon any particular cult or cults (*versus* Bousset and Loisy).

Such viewpoints and statements show how balanced and scholarly a book we have before us. It is deserving of the most careful study, and is worth circulating widely among students, Church School teachers, and others interested. FREDERICK C. GRANT.

*The Virgin Birth of Christ.* By J. Gresham Machen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930, pp. 415. \$5.00.

A stately volume, containing the substance, greatly enlarged, of the Thomas Smyth lectures delivered in 1927. The author's name is sufficient guide to the treatment: the widest possible reading and a very high dialectic ability are combined to produce an *à tout prix* apologetic. Even Dr. Box's Midrashic theory, which holds to the fact of the Virgin birth but allows legendary elaboration of the details, is rejected (pages 174, 216); the whole narrative as formed by an harmonizing interweaving of the Matthean and Lukan stories is historic at every point. In one regard only does Dr. Machen allow himself a little rationalizing of his own. The Star of Bethlehem is described by Matthew in a "poetic, oriental way" (page 225). It was not a supernatural but an astronomical phenomenon, which to the Magi "seemed to go before them while they journeyed"; Dr. Machen even thinks of Kepler's theory of a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn as "not

at all impossible" (page 228). Yet he allows for the possibility of a purely miraculous "star" as a less probable hypothesis.

The difficulty with such a method, of course, is that it founds faith on an elaborate sequence of deductions introduced by such phrases as "May it not be?", "It is very plausible," "These difficulties are not so formidable as at first sight they may seem," "Who can say that this is impossible?" The result—let us be quite frank—is to give an uneasy impression of the writer's historical sincerity. He holds a theological position from which he believes historical arguments are not potent enough to dislodge him, since he is always able to find a counter-argument. The position is comprehensible enough, but it is the position of a dogmatist, not that of an historian. Consequently only too many readers will be so irritated that they will miss the really strong points in Dr. Machen's contentions. And this is a great pity.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

*Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus.* By Werner Georg Kümmel. Leipsic: Hinrichs, 1929, pp. xv + 160. M. 11.

This is the 17th Heft of Dr. Windisch' *Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*. At present there are four main interpretations of the seventh chapter of Romans, according to the identification of the subject as the converted Paul, the unconverted Paul, humanity in its history, and an undefined rhetorical person, and Mr. Kümmel undertakes to determine which of these four is correct. His method is perfect. He begins with a study of the seventh chapter in its connection with Romans as a whole. This leads him to examine Pauline anthropology in a chapter that should be commended to every student, as it does full justice to Paul's unstable terminology. Broadly speaking, the apostle held a dichotomy for the "natural" man and a trichotomy for the Christian, the superadded element being "spirit." Yet Paul occasionally attributes "spirit" to the natural man also, although in this case "spirit" has an entirely different sense and is a mere synonym of *nous*.

In chapter 3 we are given a detailed exegesis of Romans 7

apart from the problem of the identification of the "I" there; a better piece of expository writing it would be difficult to imagine. And then Mr. Kümmel attacks the final problem: Who is this "I"? In Roman Catholic circles (generally) and in Calvinistic circles (regularly) Paul is supposed to be speaking of his Christian experience and of his constant need of forgiveness at even his best moments: this interpretation gives excellent devotional theology but it is untrue to Paulinism. The third of the above interpretations, which makes the "I" virtually Adam—in Eden and after the fall—is too artificial really to be defended, even though its supporters include certain illustrious names. At the present time the second interpretation is the most popular: Paul describes his preconversion experience. To this Mr. Kümmel raises two objections. Firstly, it does not adequately explain verse 9, "I was alive apart from the law at one time." This objection, to be sure, is not insuperable, but there is a second objection which he regards as decisive; namely, Paul's description of his Pharisaism in Philippians 3: 6, "As touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless." This description harmonizes with Pharisaism as known from outside sources—Mr. Kümmel here depends largely on Mr. R. T. Herford—and is inconsistent with the burden of the law depicted in Romans 7: Pharisees did not regard the law as a burden.

And so we are forced to the fourth explanation: the "I" is a mere rhetorical device standing for no one in particular and everyone in general, but certainly not Paul himself. With this conclusion Mr. Kümmel in a fifth chapter studies Paul's conversion and, frankly, is able to make nothing of it. Since Paul was perfectly happy as a Pharisee, there was and could have been no psychological preparation for the conversion: it can be explained only as a pure miracle, by which a new mentality was mechanically substituted for the old.

This conclusion ought to have been enough to point out to Mr. Kümmel the flaw in an otherwise admirable argument. Philippians 3: 6 is an inadequate rejoinder to the theory that finds the unconverted Paul in Romans 7. The former passage refers to



external achievements—fasting twice in the week, giving tithes of everything acquired, etc.—in which perfection was quite conceivably possible. Romans 7, on the other hand, describes struggles against sins primarily of thought—"covetousness"—against which no one can completely triumph. Nor was Paul so logically consistent as to be incapable of occasional self-contradictions; there are enough of them elsewhere in his epistles. And—on the authority of Mr. Herford—to argue that no Pharisee was ever discontented or despondent is to argue a plain absurdity. Consequently, while we are most grateful to Mr. Kümmel for an extraordinarily helpful monograph, he has not successfully upset the interpretation that sees in Romans 7 the apostle's account of his preconversion struggles.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

*Didascalia Apostolorum.* The Syriac Version translated and accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments. By R. Hugh Connolly. Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. xcii + 280. \$6.00.

The Syriac *Didascalia* holds a unique place in early Christian literature, somewhat midway between the *Didache* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*—the latter indeed being based upon it. As often happened, for example even in the New Testament, the enlargement and revision of a Greek writing spelled the doom of the earlier 'edition'; it was totally eclipsed by the revision, and from then on MSS. of the latter were copied, not of the former. So it has come to pass that this ancient writing of the Syrian Church—dating probably from the middle of the third century—is no longer extant in Greek, but only in an early Syriac translation and (fragmentarily) in a Latin one. It is true, considerable portions of the Greek text are embedded in the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions*; but the compiler of that work dealt so freely with his sources it would be quite impossible to pick out his *Grundschrift* unless we had the *Didascalia* to guide us. Even so, his redaction looks more like a paraphrase than a new 'edition.'

The interest of this work for the Church historian and student of early Christian literature, for the canonist, the liturgist, the student of social history is very great. Dr. Achelis has stated

that no other early Christian document gives us anything like the vivid and detailed view of the outward and inward aspects of an early Christian community. Problems enough it raises—*e.g.*, the steps in development followed by the monarchical episcopate in Syria—now fresh in our minds following Streeter's recent study; the position of the presbyters; the occasion for the long and repeated invective against the 'Second Legislation'; the canonical legislation presupposed in the sections dealing with the episcopal court of judgment; the origin and development and exact status of the diaconate; and so on. But these do not outweigh the positive data which it supplies—the absolutely assured position of the bishop; his entire autonomy within his own province; the duties of charity and forgiveness, so strongly and repeatedly enjoined; the substitution of the ecclesiastical for the civil court, in cases arising between Christians; the alternative to Marcion's cutting of the Gordian knot of the Old Testament, showing the gravity of the problem; the details of the observance of Holy Week and Easter—Easter to be observed on the Sunday following the week in which the Jewish Passover falls (regardless of the exact day of the week); and so on. The judgment of Harnack is still sound: "The apostolic-catholic collection of Scriptures, the apostolic-catholic doctrine, the apostolic office of the bishops, have not yet entered within the horizon of the author. He is as yet uninfluenced by Rome—*i.e.*, by the development of things which first took place at Rome and then spread to the Provinces" (*Chron.* i. 494).

In spite of the long, clear, and valuable Introduction, and the extremely valuable notes, the translator has not aimed to give more than a reliable, accurate, and complete translation, as an aid to the furtherance of the study of *Didascalia* in the English-speaking world. (Mrs. Gibson's translation in the Cambridge series omits the last chapter, and is based upon a poor MS.) The translation is clear and readable, and the printing of the Latin fragments on the right hand page is a decided convenience. The general reader who is interested in early Christian history will find the book worth looking into; the student of the history of the

biblical text will also be repaid. The curious and beautiful variant found in the *Didache* appears here also: "Love them that hate you, and pray for them that curse you, and ye shall have no enemy."

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

*Studien zu den Pseudo-Clementinen: nebst einem Anhang—die älteste römische Bischofsliste und die Pseudo-Clementinen. (Texte und Untersuchungen, XLVI, 1.)* By Carl Schmidt. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1929, pp. 397. Unbound, M. 25.

In the history of early Christian literature there is probably no problem more delicate or complicated than that of the pseudo-Clementine writings. The *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* are redactions, the latter slightly the younger, of an already composite *Grundschrift*. To the analysis of this document Schmidt has brought to bear his remarkable erudition and perspicacity. He argues forcibly that the sources underlying the *Grundschrift* are four—(1) the *Kerygmata* of Peter, (2) a Catholic romance, the *Praxeis* of Peter, which included the forensic duels between Simon Peter and Simon Magus, (3) an apologetic work consisting of mythological and philosophic disputations, (4) a "recognition-novel" (Faustus and his family). Of these the first and the third are the more important, though the two romances provide the outer framework. This analysis differs in important respects from the earlier one by H. Waitz. In particular, Schmidt claims that he has reduced Waitz' reconstruction of the *Acts of Peter* to the level of a phantom-product, and to have eliminated it from the catalogue of early Christian literature.

It is maintained that the author of the *Grundschrift*—no original creative spirit, but a *Kompilator im grossen Stile*—was a Jewish Christian, yet an adherent of the Gentile Church, who "with all his high esteem for Gentile Christianity would by no means deny the prerogatives of his ancestry" (page 286). He was a Catholic Christian, but one of a peculiar sort through his ancestry and environment. He belonged to the same group which produced the *Didascalia*, which Schmidt shows to have many points of contact with the Clementines. His home was

probably in Transjordan, where Jewish and Gentile Christianity met; his date, somewhere around 220-30. A Catholic Christian with Jewish and Jewish-Christian antecedents, he "grasped the plan of celebrating the triumph of Christianity over heresy and paganism in a coherently-wrought Christian romance" (page 18). In so doing he did not refuse to appropriate and mould in accordance with his project whatever served his purpose, quite regardless of *provenance*. Thus the *Kerygmata* is held to be Jewish-Christian, the apologetic work Jewish, and the 'family-novel' of pagan origin.

P. V. NORWOOD.

*The Cambridge Medieval History*. Planned by the late J. B. Bury. Edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke. Vol. vi. *Victory of the Papacy*. Cambridge University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1929. pp. xli + 1047, with maps. \$14.00.

The new volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* opens with a brief but brilliant introduction setting forth the outstanding features of the thirteenth century, from the pen of one of the editors, Dr. Previté-Orton. It is like an overture to the literary symphony that follows. Chapter i is a really magnificent picture of Innocent III, painting in deep colors his purposeful politics; his curious shrewdness, combining infinite daring with hard-headed circumspection; his 'use of every shifting of fortune to increase the spiritual authority and the temporal possessions of the Holy See'; his 'deeply-felt historical mysticism'; his failure to fathom the weaknesses of subordinates led by a less ardent sense of the importance of their own offices and commissions; the 'extraordinary versatility of his organising power, and the immense gravity of his judgments.' This picture is an appropriate and significant beginning for the series of monographs which fill the volume. For, to change our figure, the papal power under Innocent III was the keystone of that arch of triumph, the 13th century.

The following chapters study contemporary political history outside Italy: (ii) Philip of Swabia and Otto IV; (iii) Germany in the Reign of Frederick II; (iv) the Interregnum in Ger-

many. Chapters v-vi deal with Italy and Sicily, vii-viii with England (Richard I, John, and Henry III), ix-x with France (ch. x is devoted to Saint Louis), xi-xiii with the Scandinavian kingdoms, Spain (1034-1248), Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. The remainder of the book deals with the social and religious history of the High Middle Ages.

Chapter xiv is on Commerce and Industry, and traces the steady shift from Byzantium, fronting eastward, half-oriental, with an embargo on its most luxurious products, to the later commercial cities of the west, when 'Florence becomes the clearing-house of Europe,' and the beginnings of medieval Italian capitalism are found in the commercial revival of the 11th century. Chapter xv carries on the study to the Northern Towns and their Commerce. Chapter xvi is an extremely important study, by Canon Watson of Oxford, of the Development of Ecclesiastical Organization and its Financial Basis, wherein it is made clear that the tithe, often a double-tithe, was inherited both from paganism and Judaism, and was the basis of the financial support of the Church. Other forms of taxation or of free-will offerings, of which we hear so much complaint later on, were in addition to this basic land-rent—which seems not so commonly questioned until the Reformation. The chapter should be carefully studied by every social student; it gives us a far clearer understanding of the inner workings of the medieval Church, and answers some of the questions we most wish to ask.

Chapter xvii, on the Medieval Universities, is from the pen of the late Dean Rashdall, whose authoritative three-volume work on the subject is now out of print and almost procurable. In these forty pages we are given in effect a summary of that great history, all the more welcome under the circumstances. Chapter xviii deals with Political Theory to c. 1300; St. Augustine and the Canonists are of course fully cited and their mutual relations clearly pointed out.

Chapter xix, on Medieval Doctrine to the Lateran Council of 1215, is by Dr. A. H. Thompson. He goes back to the time of Gregory for a full perspective, and traces the steady process of

development up to the Lateran Council. Certain outstanding figures and documents are reviewed in detail—Gottschalk, Berengar, Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Lombard. Here again St. Augustine's influence, reinforced by Gregory's, is shown to be paramount. Incidentally, it is assumed that the Lateran Council *did* definitely formulate the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as against one or two objectors at the present day.

Chapters xx and xxi deal with Heresies and the Inquisition, and the Mendicant Orders; chapters xxii–xxv with Architecture, Ecclesiastical and Military; the Art of War to 1400; Chivalry; and the Legendary Cycles of the Middle Ages—an interesting and appropriate sequence, filling in the remaining details of this magnificent portrayal of a great century in the history of Western Man.

It is a convenience to have the maps bound up with the volume, in the American edition, despite the resulting bulkiness; but the binding could be better—the stamping on the back has cut clear through the thin cloth used in at least one copy. As usual, in this series, the bibliographies and index are superbly done.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

*The Social Sources of Denominationalism.* By H. Richard Niebuhr. New York: Henry Holt, 1929, pp. viii + 304. \$2.50.

A generation ago the various denominations magnified their doctrinal differences. The present generation is inclined to minimize these in the hope of achieving unity. Dr. Richard Niebuhr of Eden Theological Seminary writes a very interesting book to prove that doctrinal and denominational differences are rationalizations and indices of important social differences, and that the elimination of denominationalism is not a problem of theological doctrine but of adjustment of social classes. Each denomination arose as the religious expression of the experience of a social class. As a particular class emerged in the economic life of the nation, it sought and found a form of religious thought and organization which rationalized its group-experience.

This book is an application of the socio-religious theories of



Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch to American religious life. The author does not claim that an economic or purely political interpretation of theology is justified, but that the religious life is so interwoven with social circumstances that the formulation of theology is necessarily conditioned by them. We believe that this is a point of view that is going to be increasingly important in religious thought.

Dr. Niebuhr emphasizes the clear distinction between the church and the sect. The church accepts the existing social order and seeks to include all in the one religious group. But when there is lack of proper coördination in the social order, when the church fails to meet the needs of those who are made poor by the changing social and economic conditions, then the sect arises with its message of salvation for those in need. In Protestant history the sect has ever been the child of an outcaste minority, taking its rise in the religious revolts of the poor. The theology of this group is, then, a rationalization of the group's separate existence. Thus the various Protestant denominations are to be understood not as motivated by new theologies, but as the churches of the disinherited.

The sect goes through the process to become a church as its members achieve economic success. This process is clearly visible in America today.

The application of this theory is that the divisions of Protestantism can never be overcome by theological discussion, but by a recognition of the purely secular character of denominational divisions. When the social vision of the Kingdom of God becomes the object of the interest of the church, then, and then only, will the root of division have been killed.

This book will be found very valuable as a study of American Christianity. Dr. Niebuhr has not merely stated his theory of the social development of religion, he has worked it out with abundant historical illustration. He has covered a great mass of material in following out the life of the important divisions of American Christianity. The book is well documented and in-

dexed. It will certainly be widely quoted and should be on the desk of every student of the problem of Christian unity.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

*Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light.* By Francis J. Hall. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. xii + 150. \$1.40.

In discussions looking toward Christian reunion it is highly desirable that every Church involved and every group that is to be seriously reckoned with should lay its cards on the table. The Anglo-Catholics are emphatically such a group. Conceivably they are strong enough to dictate to the Anglican Communion the position it shall take with regard to reunion. It is in their behalf that Dr. Hall writes with his accustomed acuteness of analysis and logical cogency. He conceives of reunion in terms of completeness. He is rightly anxious that nothing should be done hastily now for the sake of partial reunion which would impair the prospects of comprehensive reunion hereafter. Convinced that the educational process must go on for long before definite schemes of union may safely be taken in hand, he has made a weighty contribution to the educational campaign in his luminous exposition of "ecumenical" Catholicism—those doctrines and practices which Rome, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Catholic Anglicanism have in common. It would be difficult to find elsewhere such an exposition set forth so clearly, sanely, charitably, in such short compass.

But there are many who will feel that Dr. Hall's main thesis—"that . . . the ancient Catholic system . . . comes from Christ, and therefore is the only available basis of complete and permanent Christian unity"—is open to serious question on both historical and theological grounds, particularly when pressed so far as he presses it. Several times he speaks of "Christ's arrangements for his Church," almost as if our Lord had handed the Apostles a schedule as elaborate as the proposed South India scheme. Repeatedly he seems to imply that any fourth or fifth century decision on Faith or Order is quite beyond review today. There are some who profess and call themselves Catholics who cannot

reconcile this static conception of the Church with their faith in the living and guiding Holy Spirit, nor acquiesce in the implication that the Spirit virtually ceased to function with the break between East and West. If we admit the legitimacy and inevitableness of development beyond the New Testament period why stop at any point short of the twentieth century? It is to be regretted that Dr. Hall, with his splendid talents and his evident devotion to the Unity of the Church, should feel it necessary to advocate a stark traditionalism in respect to the Church's organization, as if the only alternative to sixteenth century abuses and the divisions arising therefrom were return to a copy of the third century or the fourth. Why may we not go *forward* to a fuller faith and a larger vision of the Church?

Dr. Hall believes that the proper approach to reunion is still that pointed out by the Chicago Declaration and "Quadrilateral" of 1886. (Incidentally he has done a very real service in reminding us that the Quadrilateral is only to be understood by reference to its context.) Whatever departures from the Declaration have subsequently been made, as by the 1920 Lambeth Conference and the ensuing negotiations between Anglican and Free Church leaders, are unfortunate, ill-advised, open to misunderstanding, productive of illusory hopes. He wishes that the pronouncements which in the last ten years seemed to mark progress on our part might be unsaid. For "no plan of reunion which fails to make the ancient Catholic system permanent can be adopted today by the Anglican authorities without hopelessly dividing Anglicans among themselves." In which sentence, however it is intended, there is ample food for thought.

It is a terribly honest book. But profoundly disheartening because so utterly uncompromising, so reactionary. If reunion can come only along this path, then "not in a thousand years"—to look no farther forward—will it come. Evidently the educational process must be reciprocal. Truth is not to be determined by the mere counting of noses. Sooner or later Anglo-Catholics must acknowledge that their simple and soul-satisfying picture of primitive Christianity is far from being an accurate representation

of reality. Doubtless the thoughtful Protestant people for whose enlightenment Dr. Hall writes are quite aware of this, as indeed are not a few among Anglo-Catholics. P. V. NORWOOD.

*The Case for Episcopacy.* By Kenneth D. Mackenzie. London: S. P. C. K., 1929, pp. ix + 146.

Since the Anglican Communion has taken the lead in summoning Christendom to reunion, at the same time insisting that the historic episcopate must be made an indispensable condition of reunion, it is reasonably demanded that our theologians put forth an adequate defence of our position. This little book is avowedly such an *apologia* for our Order. It can hardly be said, however, that it meet the needs of the present situation. The author of *The Confusion of the Churches* is thoroughly convinced that episcopacy is the vehicle by which our Lord's commission of authority to the Apostles has been transmitted through the centuries. The arguments he marshals in the first four chapters will be quite familiar to anyone who knows, for instance, Bishop Gore's *Church and the Ministry*. If there are still many in the Anglican Communion whom Bishop Gore has failed to convince, it is unthinkable that this book will convince many of those outside. Dr. Stanley Jones will hardly be cured of his habit of yawning when ministerial validity is under discussion. Nor will the multitude of Americans who are supposedly "Congregationalists at heart" be brought to a better mind. In this country, at least, the Protestant and the Anglo-Catholic speak different languages, not merely different dialects. To reach the former, the latter will have to discover a different mode of address than that here adopted. Protestantism has frankly no interest in the tactual transmission of Apostolic authority. If, therefore, we are to get anywhere with reunion we must sooner or later face the necessity of an altogether fresh line of defence—one in which the pragmatic shall largely replace the traditional appeal to pseudo-history; one founded upon a larger and more adequate doctrine of the Church.

Having said all this we have said the worst that is to be said about *The Case for Episcopacy*. As a statement of the Anglo-

Catholic position it is admirably clear and candid. It does not blink the defects in our Anglican system. It makes plain that these are by no means inevitable to Catholic Order, but merely historical accidents; that episcopacy may be pastoral as well as prelatical, democratic as well as feudalistic; and that the most obnoxious features are in the way of being cured already. Indeed, so far is episcopacy from being stereotyped and rigid, that it might conceivably be combined with Presbyterianism. "If it were desirable there need be no insuperable objection to allowing all parish ministers to be consecrated to the episcopate and the elders to the presbyterate" (page 119). This is a wholesome concession, and may perhaps point the way out of the *cul-de-sac* in which we seem now to be caught. But Congregationalism is another matter. It is hard to see how it is to be reconciled either with the principles of episcopacy or with the larger doctrine of the Church.

The historical argument in the opening chapters is, like Bishop Gore's, weakened by frequent assumptions covered by a "probably," or a "we may reasonably assume," etc., after which the argument proceeds as if the point had been finally and satisfactorily settled. Non-episcopalians may be pardoned if they refuse to be convinced by this sort of reasoning, where pitfalls are merely covered over with brushwood.

P. V. NORWOOD.

*Lausanne, Lambeth, and South India: notes on the present position of the reunion movement.* By N. P. Williams. London and New York: Longmans, 1930, pp. 90. Paper, 90 cents.

This is a five-ply affair. It contains a criticism, generally well founded, of ambiguities in the Lausanne Conference Report on the Ministry; a defence of Apostolic Succession; a criticism of the proposed scheme of union for South India, with a suggested alternative plan that would avoid the features which Anglo-Catholics find objectionable; a program for Lambeth, 1930; and a critique of Canon Streeter's *Primitive Church* and of Bp. Headlam's *Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*. The standpoint is—to use a phrase of Prof. Williams'—that of "liberal traditional-

ism." The essence of the Apostolic ministry is not in its *form* but in the transmission of authority. At the Reformation large areas of Christendom lost altogether the official and Apostolic ministry, retaining only the Prophetic. Non-episcopalians might doubtless reply that their ministry, while indeed Prophetic, is none the less 'official'; that it is likewise pastoral, and so in some sense a priestly ministry.

An original suggestion is that the most fruitful immediate task would be to integrate Christian denominations into five great Communions, representing the five fundamental structural types—the Papal, the non-Papal Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Congregationalist, and the non-sacramental (including the Salvation Army and the Society of Friends).

The criticism of Canon Streeter and Bp. Headlam is more than a third of the whole. Altogether it appears to the reviewer the best rejoinder that has yet been made, though the Lady Margaret Professor is less successful against the Canon of Hereford than against the Bishop of Gloucester. P. V. NORWOOD.

*Problems of Providence.* By Charles J. Shebbeare. Longmans, 1929, pp. vii + 120. \$1.35.

The doctrine of Providence is one which has been politely bowed out by three-quarters of the modern Christian world, and adroitly side-stepped by the remaining quarter. It is a question whether much of the thinness of current religion is not due to this omission. The conviction that the hand of God is seen in the smallest events of daily life, that in Him we live and move and have our being, that all things work together for good to them that love God, and that nothing takes place except by the will or at least the permission of an all-wise, all-powerful, and all-loving Father, is close to the very heart of religion.

The difficulties presented by any doctrine of Providence are real, and this little work exhibits deep insight into these problems, and an effort, largely successful, to grapple with them and solve them. The world presents the appearance of being governed, if not by 'design,' at any rate not by chance, but by 'the antithesis



of chance.' Our very belief in an 'order of nature' (without which there could be no science) implies teleology of a sort,—not necessarily Paley's Almighty Watch-maker, but a rational and moral 'coherence' of the Universe in all its parts. A universe which systematically reveals the Ideal (the writer is in the true Idealistic succession) must not itself fall short of the Ideal in whole or in part.

But is this possible? Can a universe be even dimly conceived, where the interests not only of all, but of *each*, receive the fullest consideration,—where things are so ordered, down to the minutest detail, as to conduce to the complete and highest good of every creature, as well as to that of creation as a whole? The writer makes striking use of the analogy of the drama. "The inclusion of all men in a single scheme is not in principle a different exercise of reason from that of the tragedian who makes the self-same succession of events contribute in a distinctive manner to the development of each of his *dramatis personæ*" (p. 63). Such a conception leaves ample room both for prayer and for miracle. "If God's scheme is the preparation of a perfected humanity—perfected partly by work and suffering in a world sufficiently uniform to make work possible—there is nothing inconsistent with this aim in an occasional 'interference,' if God 'interferes' with the working of His own rules not at random, but in pursuance of a wide plan, intelligible in a general way to us, of which this present world is a subordinate part" (p. 66). Mechanism and teleology are not inconsistent; rather mechanism is the device created, planned, and utilized by Providence for its predestined ends.

Perhaps the most profound, but at the same time the least satisfactory, section of the book is that which deals with the reconciliation of a doctrine of Providence with human freedom. The writer's conception of Providence involves apparently an idea of absolute Predestination no less iron-clad than that of Calvin, except that ultimately all, it is implied, will achieve salvation instead of damnation. There is no element of contingency in human events—or any other. Yet "the fight is no sham fight." But why not, if no act and no choice is for a moment in doubt?

We are silenced, but not quite convinced, when we read: "the predestined future may be just this—that the end shall be achieved by persistence."

The following significant admissions are made by the author. "The Libertarian is certainly right as against the Fatalist, who sees no use in struggling against Destiny." "The Libertarian is right in insisting that we do really choose." "The Libertarian is right, again, in insisting that men are really to blame for choosing wrong, and the more to blame the more clearly they *know* that their choice is the wrong choice" (pp. 88-89). Yet evil seems to be willed by God, as a means to a larger good. God does, or causes, evil that good may come. The parts of Caesar Borgia and Judas Iscariot are no less given and assigned them by Providence than those of the greatest saint. "The Caesar Borgias and the Judas Iscariots—those who have at last been won back from the furthest wanderings—will not complain that their lot has been 'unfair,' if they regard those very wanderings as a necessary part in the perfection of the whole, of which all equally are in the end partakers." The fatal weakness that dogs the footsteps of most Idealism, which considers "all discord harmony not understood, all partial evil universal good," however attractive and plausible this may seem, simply will not do. Sin is that which ought not to be, and it is no wonder that man's horror of sin ultimately lessened, and the distinction between good and evil blurred, upon such assumptions. Nor is it a real answer that evil remains equally evil, equally repulsive and blameworthy, whatever its cause. If it is *caused* by God (not simply permitted, but caused by Him) the odium we attach to sin either disappears or becomes God's. God is the author of sin. In Luther's almost blasphemous language, "He is the author of Lot's incest, of David's adultery, of Peter's denial and Judas' betrayal," no less directly than of the holiness of Christ and His saints. We refuse, for the sake of systematic completeness, or of neat logical arrangement, to adopt a belief involving such consequences. It is no less offensive to reason and conscience than to the conception of the Father given us by our Lord and by the main trend of New

Testament teaching. "God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man." The Almighty Devil who should ordain such a course of education for His creatures, assigning them the rôles of a Borgia or a Judas, is simply not the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and no amount of logical special pleading can make Him such. The writer's effort to evade these conclusions is more ingenious than convincing.

Nor is the witness of St. Thomas Aquinas to predestinarian 'determinism' so complete as the passages quoted by the author would seem to show. Much in St. Thomas looks in that direction, it is true, but the Angelic Doctor qualifies this teaching by such assertions as that "God moves all things, in accordance with the nature of the thing moved—thus He moves the human will freely." Moreover, in answer to the question: "An voluntas Dei imponat necessitatem rebus volitis?" he replies, "Non omnibus: sed aliquibus, quia voluntas Dei efficax concurret, non solum ad rem, sed ad modum essendi, id est, vel necessarium, vel non, quia sic requirit ordo universi. Item quod aliqua sint necessaria, aliqua contingentia non reducitur ad causas secundas, quia possent impediri. Item voluntas Dei ponit necessitatem conditionalem rebus." Further "An voluntas Dei sit malorum?" R. "Deus nullo modo vult malum culpae, quia opponitur suae bonitati: malum naturae, seu poenae vult per accidens quia vult iustitiam. Item Deus permittit, sed non vult fieri, vel non fieri." (*Ex prima parte*, 19, qu. 8 and 9.) And even the Westminster Confession admits the 'liberty' and 'contingency' of 'secondary causes.'

It is regrettable that the author did not again utilize his figure of the drama. Is it not characteristic of many of the highest creations of tragic art that one supreme purpose marches resistlessly to victory, yet in such a way that the freedom of the individual characters is preserved, and even ministers to its accomplishment? And may not the solution to the problem of the reconciliation of Providence and human freedom be sought on similar lines?

Nevertheless, the author gives us much for which we should be grateful. This little book opens up wide vistas for philosophical and theological exploration, and is itself an invaluable contribution to this task.

WILLIAM H. DUNPHY.

*Miracle in History and in Modern Thought.* By Charles James Wright. New York: Henry Holt, 1930, pp. viii + 433.

The new theories of matter that are being presented to us by modern science are going to open up fresh consideration of the possibility of miracles. It is, therefore, valuable to have a résumé of the thought of the past on this topic. The writer of this volume has made an exceedingly thorough study of the miracle-idea in history, and has gathered together a vast amount of material from varying sources. He follows the philosophical and biblical arguments for and against miracle from Hume to the present day.

He defends the concept of the supernatural as being necessary to a theistic view of the world. The idea of a personal God demands the possibility of His free action in the world. But this does not necessitate the traditional view of miracles as breaches of natural law. A fundamentally ethical theism is not only consonant with the inability to accept the interventionist concept of miracle, but it is indeed at variance with that concept as it has been usually stated. He denies that God reveals Himself more in "miracle" than in natural event; and argues that the concept of power instead of love as central in God is a denial of the essence of Christianity. The concept of miracle as essentially incapable of being fitted into scientific law is not only unnecessary for religion, but is positively at variance with the truth that religion gives.

One would desire to see in such a book as this attention given to the newer views of matter with which Physics is dealing. The author's tendency has been to deal with the problem from the philosophical angle rather than from the scientific. The lengthy discussion of Hume might have been replaced profitably by a discussion of the views of modern physicists. Nor does he consider the contributions that may be received from the theory of Mutations in Biology.

The book has a good index and a bibliography.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

*Psychology's Defence of the Faith.* By David Yellowlees. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930, pp. 190. \$2.00.

The title is repelling, but the book itself is quite delightful. From the title one would fear that the book would be an artificial attempt to prove the truth of a theological creed by reference to Psychology. But it is something far better. The author is a medical man with a thorough knowledge of the new Psychology, engaged in constant practice as a consultant in nervous troubles. He is not a theologian, even if he does live in Glasgow, but is an earnest healthy-minded Christian man whose religion means a great deal to him. He writes of psycho-analysis, repressions, the self-conscious and the other paraphernalia of modern Psychology, and he relates these to the life and thought of the Christian. There is a great wealth of learning behind the book, and there is a greater wealth of common sense in it.

Mr. Yellowlees is not sure that clergy should feel themselves obligated to become experts in dealing with people who are afflicted with nervous troubles. He says, "For one person who is ill because of his actual sins or moral difficulties there are ten—or twice ten—who are ill because of fears and repressions and twisted emotional lives which are partly or even wholly the result of wrong or stereotyped or meaningless religious ideas absorbed by them." If the clergy will examine what religious teaching is actually being given in homes and Sunday Schools and will scrap that teaching which they themselves actually disbelieve they will do far more for the mental health of their people than by dealing with a few psychopathic cases.

This book will be of very great value to many, not to special students of Psychology, but especially to the large number of young people who are being so confused by psychological terms that they lose sight of the living realities of the Christian religion.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

*The new American Prayer Book: its history and contents.* By E. Clowes Chorley. New York: Macmillan, 1929, pp. 137. \$1.50.

For one reason or another we have not had a satisfactory history of our American Prayer Book. Students have had to be

referred to such essays as that contributed by the late Dr. Hart to "Procter and Frere," or those in *The Genesis of the American Prayer Book* (1892), or to the learned but very dull Introduction to McGarvey's *Liturgiæ Americanæ*. The recent revision has inspired the official historiographer of the Church to produce a very readable and useful little volume which will doubtless have the wide appeal it deserves. It is at its best in its exposition of the spirit of the New Book, under the two headings, "Revision" and "Enrichment." The Book is properly evaluated as a wholesome emancipation from the heritage of medievalism which made its predecessors in parts "an affront to ordinary intelligence." It might perhaps more accurately have been represented as emancipation from the dead-weight of Calvinism.

Apparently Dr. Chorley does not feel quite at home in liturgiology, and some of his statements are unfortunately loose and inexact. Thus of the Prayer Book of 1789 it is said that "its services were as long and wearisome as the corrupted Breviaries of the thirteenth century" (page 86). The few lines devoted to Bp. Seabury's "Communion Office" are altogether inadequate to that important subject, since they fail altogether to account for the distinctive marks and merits of our American Eucharistic rite and to explain its relation to the Scottish Liturgy. It is surely inexact to say that Seabury's Communion service was "incorporated" in the American Prayer Book. Since 1928 we have indeed approximated it rather closely in certain respects, but not yet is it "incorporated" in our Book.

P. V. NORWOOD.

*The Motives of Men.* By George A. Coe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928, pp. x + 265. \$2.25.

This book is quite disappointing. To one familiar with the present-day discussions of human nature by such men as Hocking, McDougall, or Dewey, it will appear immature and ill-digested, while to one familiar with current theological literature it will appear cursory and uninformed. The exposition is uneven and sketchy, and at times provincial, dull, and even absurd. It reflects the careful note-taker far more than the careful thinker.



The first part of the book attempts to show how 19th century optimism and confidence in the gospel of science has been disillusioned by such influences as the Great War, the theory of biological evolution, irrationalism in literature, naturalism in psychology, and the "harsh symphony of industrialism."

To Coe Christianity is little more than a magnified American Protestantism, with a nebulous and largely unexplored "hinterland," which he vaguely supposes to be "Roman Catholicism." His whole background is naïvely and typically Protestant, as is illustrated in his demand for a "regenerate Church" to regenerate the world. He may be right in supposing that the Protestant churches will "more and more become clubs for the enjoyment of conventional and uncreative idealism"; but he is rash indeed to predict that "the Catholic Church will protect itself from the advancing disintegration of Western Society by immuring the sacramental life more and more in places of worship and in the æsthetic appeal of symbolism."

In fact Coe's conception of Catholicism is as grotesque as it is uninformed. Otherwise he would never have presumed to assert that in Catholicism mystical experience will have the character of a "flight from life," instead of being the "practice of the presence of God" (a Catholic phrase, by the way). Anyone even slightly familiar with the history of Catholic mystical devotion and theology should know that for Catholic mysticism "the mixed life is best," and that the error of Quietism has been expressly rejected by the Roman Catholic Church herself.

The second part of the book undertakes to show that the disillusionment of the present day is itself illusory. Many will agree, although hardly convinced by the scrappy considerations presented. His discussion of human motivation would have been far stronger had he made some reference to Hocking, who would have proved a valuable ally in his struggle against "disillusioning" Schools of Psychology. Moreover, Coe's "master-motive" of a creative self among other creative personalities has been far more ably presented by writers to whom he does not even refer. Royce's "Problem of Christianity" might have proved inspiring

here; but S. Paul and his modern interpreter are unmentioned, and the reviewer wonders if the inspiration, such as it is, came second-hand via Miss Calkins.

Part III affirms that our capacities are nevertheless in bondage, and Part IV tries to show how they can be released. Reason must be trusted, the author argues; and yet reason tends to become mechanized into irrational habit. Even faults and passions follow precedent; even youth has its irrational social habits, such as the sacred "traditions" of college.

The author demands a "technique for freedom" which will give "continuous relief from continually forming precedents." Worship, for example, must include a "technique" for "continually transcending the religious self and the religious organization of yesterday." In fact Coe seems to have a horror of anything that has been stabilized in the social life of the past. "Orthodoxy," whether political or religious, comes in for a rather shrill scolding.

Coe's frantic search for a "technique for freedom" reminds one of Kant's famous dove that in its simplicity imagined that it could soar still higher, were it not for the air that so impeded it. The reviewer fails to see why social precedents themselves cannot be open doors to freedom. To denounce the mechanism of irrational habits simply because it is mechanistic and irrational is to miss the mark. Society no more needs "relief" from "continually forming precedents" than the individual needs "relief" from continually forming habits. As Hocking points out (*Human Nature*, page 224), "There is literally speaking no such thing as being too conservative; but it is terribly easy to be conservative of the wrong objects." Coe needs to work out a theory of *value* before he attempts to expound a philosophy of freedom.

Merely to affirm that "the reconstructive work of religion and education must be done chiefly by discrediting currently accepted precedents, and causing a rethinking of alternatives," will not get one very far. Perhaps Coe is thinking of the great Russian experiment; but one must point out that it is based upon a most terrific orthodoxy, which draws its chief philosophical inspiration from a philosophical orthodoxy of the not too recent past.

Coe's discussion of the leavening function of minorities and of coöperative thinking is an elaboration of the obvious. It has all been better done in better books. But Coe is right in discounting the flippant criticisms of the self-appointed "intelligentsia"; he is right in demanding "self-discipline" and "repentance" in the truly constructive critic. These virtues, by the way, are still insisted upon in Catholic moral theology.

At this point one rather expects the positive contribution of the author to begin; but instead, he conducts the reader into a shadowy realm of quite diaphanous "free spirits," and proceeds to take his leave.

Undoubtedly Coe is very much in earnest. And in very much of a hurry too. He is indeed distressed to realize how much of Paganism there is in the Kingdoms of this World, and how far they are from having become the Kingdom of our Lord. He bristles with impatience at the halting progress of the Christian conquest, and turns upon the Church herself, or what he naïvely supposes the Church to be. Perhaps, if he could "discredit" some of his own "accepted precedents," he might realize that the ark does not need as much steadying as he supposes, and that heaven, even upon earth, is not to be reached with "a single bound." He needs more of that wider, deeper, and more "tranquil hope" of the Catholic Faith, which, in the wise words of Fr. Faber, "trims her lamp at the Eternal Years."

To those who may care to peruse this book the reviewer would suggest, as a much needed corrective and supplement, the works of Hocking and McDougall on the side of philosophy and psychology, and those of Fr. Paul B. Bull, C.R., and of Bishop Walter J. Carey of Bloemfontein on the side of theology and religion.

EDWARD UNDERWOOD.

*The New Preaching: A Little Book about a Great Art.* By Joseph Fort Newton. Nashville, Tenn.: Cokesbury Press, 1930, pp. 187. \$2.00.

Dr. Newton is a great preacher himself; indeed we have no one quite his equal in the American Church today, no one who is so much at once the seer and the artist, no one who so well illustrates

what he himself calls "the music of preaching." Some one asked him to write an article on "What Has Taken the Pull Out of Pulpit." He replied by giving us these admirable chapters on "The New Preaching." And by new preaching he doesn't—thank God—mean catch-penny, flashing, sensational preaching, but preaching that is aware of the lengthening vistas of new knowledge and the old issues of life made more acute and poignant by the swift changes of modern thought and the hurried indifference of this high-g geared mechanical age. The Sermon, the Preacher, the New Keyboard, the New Congregation, the New Strategy, these are some of the attractive titles of the chapters.

Dr. Newton believes in thorough preparation—he himself is an excellent example of the careful craftsman who works in words, like a silversmith; but he doesn't believe in reading the sermon, and he quotes with approval the action of the Church of Scotland Assembly in 1720 when it declared the reading of sermons "to be displeasing to the people of God and an obstruction to the Gospel." If a preacher cannot remember his sermon long enough to preach it, nobody will remember it long after it is preached. Dr. Newton believes we are on the eve of a new era of faith and that its flowing tide will bring us a new race of great preachers. He sees the collapse of agnosticism, the bankruptcy of nationalism, and everywhere a tendency toward God. That the preacher of the new day needs intellectual equipment is evident, but that is not enough: he must have the seer-like quality of soul, a kindled, consecrated personality, a tender sympathy with men, and a gift of persuading them. To be sure the new preaching will be the old gospel of creative and redeeming love but it will be played upon a new keyboard. The eight keys on this board according to Dr. Newton are—

1. The discovery of God as the soul of the universe working out His purpose of creative good-will.
2. The basis of faith and its verification in the living experience of God.
3. The recognition of scientific law as the organized will of God.
4. The solidarity of humanity with social obligations and responsibility for the good of all.
5. The equipment of modern psychology to assist spiritual culture.

6. The revival of true mysticism.
7. The realization of religious unity and fellowship.
8. The rediscovery of Jesus Christ as the baffling and yet clear clue to life.

The chapter entitled "The Music of Preaching" is in substance an address given in Trinity Church, Boston, at a service in memory of Phillips Brooks on the Third Sunday in Advent, 1928.

The closing chapter entitled "My Master" includes the author's own quiet and candid confession:

"For my part it becomes every year more difficult to place Christ intellectually and increasingly impossible to do without him practically. I have read many books of theology, from Augustine to our own day, following the winding paths of their speculations. I know the creeds, in which Christian doctrine has been formulated, and the writings of the great skeptics showing the alternative of faith. I have followed the investigations—and even the guesses—of the critics, high and low, learning much from their labors. I have read Strauss, the Gnostic of his age, in whose mind all things turned to myth, allegory, and symbol. I love Renan for his charm of style, and because his *Life of Jesus*—written on the mud floor of a Syrian hut—reproduces the vibrating air of the East and the human personality of the Master. I know and revere Emerson, whose Christ is the Ideal: a personification, not an incarnation. I am familiar with the agnostics, from Huxley to Lord Morley; and those beautiful, baffled souls like Lord Courtney and Middleton Murry, who can neither escape Jesus nor make up their minds about him. Deists, pantheists, occultists, the disciples of Comte, seers from the East like Gandhi and Tagore, saints, mystics, poets, prophets, the teachers of the old orthodoxy and the new, liberals of every line of thought; they tell me many things of interest and value—but none of them, nor all of them together, tell what Jesus is to me.

To me Jesus is such an unveiling of God as I have found in no other, to which no philosophy has ever attained, and one which satisfies my intellect and wins my heart utterly. That is why, in all the great hours of life, he seems to draw near, as of old, when the door was shut for fear, or by the lakeside at dawn. That is why, when I study history deeply, I see his Figure moving through its tumult and tragedy—because the force that is behind history and the force that is in Jesus are one. Often I question the creeds of the Church— august symbols of historic faith—but when I come to Jesus with great questions, suddenly a silence falls upon me, and I know that he is questioning me; and the questions he asks are so much deeper and keener than those I ask him that I am hushed. When I sit down to study Shakespeare, his mental habit and the magic of his art, Shakespeare knows nothing about me. I am a solitary student engaged in a solitary quest. The man I study is not with me save in the record of his thought and cannot purposefully and consciously help me. When I study Jesus, it is not so. Always I have the feeling that he sees me, hears me, knows me. Study becomes communion, and as I walk with him in

the days of his flesh, he walks with me in a new and strange age. My only ambition is to know him, whose I am and whom I preach, and to be his humble disciple in the midst of the years—until I hie away in the falling daylight."

Clergy and Seminary students will do well to get this book and to read it, both for the quiet simple beauty of its style and for the contact with the radiant personality of a great preacher who moves behind and within these pages.

GEO. CRAIG STEWART.

*Studies in Literature.* Third Series. By Arthur Quiller-Couch. New York: Putnam, 1930, pp. vii + 261. \$2.50.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Art of Writing* is a book every clergyman and divinity student, indeed every person called upon to write English prose, should read and reread to his continual edification. The rules for clear and persuasive composition therein set forth, elucidated, illustrated, and amply emphasized are as applicable to spoken as to written prose; and they are expounded in a forceful and unforgettable style that makes the book itself a classic in this field.

To his earlier *Studies in Literature* some readers owe a real and steadily accumulating debt—the present reviewer, for example, 'discovered' Meredith's poetry through one of 'Q's' essays in the first volume of this series. The present volume carries on the succession at a similar high level to that of its predecessors. There are two lectures on the English Elegy, two on Dorothy Wordsworth, two on 'The New Reading Public'; one each on Shakespeare's Comedies, Coventry Patmore, Longinus, W. S. Gilbert; an introductory lecture, of interest to all schoolmasters and to everyone interested in education, 'On Reading for the English Tripos'; finally, a dedication address at the opening of Keats House, Hampstead, and a dinner speech in honor of the memory of Sir Walter Scott.

'Q's' style seems to grow ever more formal and pompous with the years: but it is magnificent! And beneath the exterior pomposity, which seems undeniably artificial to an American, there is ample vitality and fire, and an inspiring quality which is readily



transferable to the reader's soul. He makes you think of literature as an *art*, something to be practiced, attempted, perhaps achieved—not something only to be admired and enjoyed. He voices a living tradition in English letters—ζώση φωνή καὶ μενούση—and an ideal of English education that rings true and sound. For example: "Our notion, then, was of an English School which should train men of your age in understanding, rather than test them in memorised information; should teach you less to hoard facts than to deal with them, to sift out what you accumulate and even to accumulate with economy: so that . . . the man we are proud to send forth from our School will be remarkable less for anything he can produce from his wallet and exhibit for knowledge than for being something, and that something a man of unmistakable breeding, whose judgment can be trusted to choose the better and reject the worse." What a conception of higher education! What a privilege to sit at the feet of such a lecturer!

The best things in all his books are about Shakespeare. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch indubitably has it in him to write the best book in the world on that master-subject. Would that this book might be written!

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

## NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

### Old and New Testament

*Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients.* By Alfred Jeremias. Fourth edition. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930, pp. xvi + 852. Ill., and with 1 map. M. 45.

Professor Jeremias is famous for his mythological interpretation of Old Testament history. He presses this interpretation as far as it can possibly be made to go. The new edition of his great work marks no change of heart, but only a further elaboration of the theory. Yet quite apart from the theory it contains valuable material that should be familiar to and used by all O.T. students.

Dr. Jeremias gets off on his theory by way of the prophetic-apocalyptic style which was adopted by the Hebrew historians. "Israelitic history-writing is devoted to the heroic, in the expectation of a world-Savior, who will solve the world-problem. The only possible style that lay to hand was the mythic, since in myth the unheard, transcendental, anticipated events could be laid hold of." If true, the principle must be applied to the N.T. also, though Professor Jeremias does not go beyond the O.T. in the present volume.

Of course it is possible to evaluate the "mythical" element differently, both in O.T. and in other Oriental literature. The facts are what one wants first; and Dr. Jeremias gives these in ample array. One must check them—some are relevant, some not. But the book certainly helps to set the O.T. against the background of contemporary western Oriental religions and cosmologies, as scarcely another book succeeds in doing. And after all it is an ancient Oriental literature we have to deal with in the Old Testament.

*The Study Bible.* Ed. by John Sterling. New York: Richard Smith, 1930. \$1.25 each.

*Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs.* By H. MacLean, W. A. L. Elmslie, D. Russell Scott, H. Ranston. Pp. x + 148.

*St. John.* By D. S. Cairns and J. A. Robertson. Pp. x + 137.

*Acts.* By Sidney Cave and W. F. Howard. Pp. x + 147.

We must confess to a real enthusiasm over *The Study Bible*. It is written by competent scholars, from the modern point of view. The exposition is drawn from the classics of all ages, Catholic and Protestant. And the bibliographies are of the sort intended to guide readers on their way toward a fuller understanding and use of the books under consideration. It is an excellent little series.

*Rogues of the Bible.* By James Black. Harper, 1930, pp. xi + 263. \$2.50.

This book consists of a series of addresses delivered by the author in Scots' Church, Melbourne, Australia. It might be called an attempt to apply to scriptural subjects the biographical methods of Lytton Strachey and Gamaliel Bradford. Thirteen outstanding sinful persons or groups are taken from the Old and New Testaments, in order, by mitigating the traditional judgment against them, to draw the same sort of moral lesson usually sought in a discourse on some biblical hero or saint.

The result is what is usually found in sermons of this type. The style is good, the argument well constructed, the presentation popular. The faintest indication of text is, however, made to support a vast mass of conjecture, and the men of older and simpler days are made to act and think like modern citizens of "the Empire." The current aims and motives of middle-class respectability are assumed as eternal principles of moral truth, and in order to make his bad men good Mr. Black has been obliged to make not a few of his good men bad. Furthermore, all this rests upon an uncritical acceptance of the English versions and of the literary unity of the books in their present form. While the reader may obtain some really valuable new viewpoints, especially from the treatments of Saul, the Pharisees, and Pilate, the book as a whole can hardly be considered a serious contribution to the literature of Biblical interpretation. M. M. D.

*The Christian Content of the Bible.* By G. H. Gilbert. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. 207. \$2.00.

The subtitle is 'The Bible reduced to the Standard of Jesus' and half of the book is Introduction and sections from the Gospels. The second half is extracts from the rest of the Bible which in the author's opinion are on the same moral and religious plane as the teaching of Jesus. So there is much from Isaiah and the Psalms, nothing from Nahum and Esther. The idea of the book is useful and ingenious though probably every reader would wish something were added—the last two verses of Jonah for instance. A. H. F.

*Stories of the Apostles and Evangelists.* By L. C. Streatfeild. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1929, pp. viii + 136. \$1.80.

The references to St. Peter throughout the Gospels and Acts are collected to form a continuous story, most of it in the words of the Bible; the Quo Vadis legend forms the conclusion. Other characters are treated in the same way. Thus we have conveniently gathered together in an attractive book, with illustrations, almost all that the New Testament and later legends tell us of the Saints who have special 'Days' throughout the Church Year. The Bishop of Kensington has written a foreword. A. H. F.

*Early Traditions about Jesus.* By J. F. Bethune-Baker. Macmillan, 1930, pp. 205. \$1.50.

An extremely elementary presentation of the modern point of view, in a singularly dull and uninteresting manner: the English pedagogic manner at its worst. And it *could* have been interesting, even brilliant!

*The Gospel of an Artist and Physician.* By Cyril Bickersteth. Morehouse, 1930, pp. vii + 111. \$60.

"Devout criticism"—more devout than critical—of the English type celebrated in the early '90s.

*Word Pictures in the New Testament.* By A. T. Robertson. Two vols. R. Smith, 1930, pp. xviii + 406, xvii + 298. \$3.50 each.

A new series of 'Word Studies,' more up to date than Vincent's, designed for those who know little or no Greek and yet are anxious to receive the help afforded by modern lexicographical and grammatical investigations. The series is to fill six volumes.

*Die Krankheit im Neuen Testament.* By Friedrich Fenner. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930, pp. 117. M. 9.

No. 18 in Dr. Windisch's series, *Untersuchungen zum N.T.*, is subtitled *Eine Religions- und Medizingeschichtliche Untersuchung*, and is by the chaplain of the Charity Hospital of Berlin University. The author has canvassed as vast a field in modern medical literature as in that of modern historical and literary criticism of the New Testament. He is well equipped for his task, and essays it with methodical thoroughness, classifying the various diseases named or described in the N.T. (so far as the symptoms described make recognition and classification possible); and he has likewise analysed and classified the methods of treatment adopted, and the results. Very naturally, many of the ailments turn out to be psycho-pathological, superinduced in some cases no doubt by a state of expectancy in which the illiterate multitudes, superstitious and demon-ridden, daily lived. Some readers will doubtless be surprised at the number of parallels to N.T. ailments discoverable in present day psychasthenia, hysteria, epilepsy, etc.—parallels which can be and have been closely studied from the modern side. St. Paul's 'thorn in the flesh,' for example, is viewed as hysteria—Paul belongs to the great company of 'the religious hysterics of humanity' (p. 40), and his stigmata were real and were further evidence of this.

Whether one agrees with Fenner or not, the value of his book as a collection of materials, both religious-historical and medical, is outstanding. His modern sources are entirely German, with but one or two exceptions. Micklem's book is cited (*Miracles and the New Psychology*); but the appendix on 'the Medical Language of St. Luke' was written without knowledge of Cadbury's complete demolition of that thesis—by the *tour de force* of establishing the 'medical' language of the satirist Lucian.

*Forschungen zur Entstehung des Urchristentums.* By Ernst Barnikol. Kiel: W. G. Mühlau, 1929, i, pp. 94, M. 3.50; ii, pp. 63, M. 2.50.

Dr. Barnikol, who is professor of Church History at Kiel, is issuing this series of brochures for the purpose of reconstructing received conceptions. Two numbers have appeared thus far, the first dealing with the preconversion life of Paul, and the second with the familiar problem of the apostle's Jerusalem visits. Dr. Barnikol writes somewhat diffusely and in a rather annoying

staccato style, and the results he achieves hardly seem to be worth the trouble. No doubt the last word has not yet been said on Galatians 1:22, but it is difficult to believe that Paul was smuggled into Jerusalem in profound secrecy and that he never went out of doors during the fortnight he stayed with Peter. Nor can we easily conceive of the preconversion Paul laboring as a Jewish missionary to the Gentiles in Arabia. B. S. E.

*Die Katholischen Briefe.* By Hans Windisch. Second edition. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930, pp. vii + 144. M. 6.30.

The new edition of Windisch's Catholic Epistles in the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* is a thorough revision of the first, published in 1911. Much new material has been added, and old material omitted. Particular examples of changed points of view are the more emphatically Jewish antecedents of James—going beyond Dibelius in the Meyer-series, Windisch holds with A. Meyer that James is a Christian paraphrase of some kind of Jewish "Twelve-Patriarch Writing"—and the Gnostic affiliations of I Peter. Considerable use is made of Strack-Billerbeck, and the epistles are set in the midst of the stream of early Gentile Catholic-Apostolic literature, so far as their provenance and contents warrant it, i.e., James, Jude, and the Petrine Epistles.

#### Church History

*Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen.* By R. B. Tollinton. S. P. C. K.; Macmillan, 1929, pp. lviii + 272. \$3.50.

Following an introduction on Origen as Exegete, the passages selected—a hundred of them—are translated with brief notes. There is a good bibliography for the student's use, and the passages are arranged in eight groups: The Being and Nature of God, The Work and Office of the Divine Word, Principles and Examples of Exegesis, Problems and Criticism, The Church, The Teacher and His Task, Speculations and Enquiries, and The Christian Life. Canon Tollinton's name is a sufficient guarantee of the quality of the translations.

Incidentally, the book is one more illustration of the idiotic American tariff on books, whereby no one profits, and only the poor teachers and students suffer. The volume is printed in India, sold in London by S. P. C. K. for 10 s., and in the United States by Macmillan for \$3.50—all because our government is "protecting" some publisher here who might conceivably want to publish Origen's Commentaries! This ridiculous tax upon learning is a kind of last straw to men and women entrusted with the inculcation of American ideals among our youth.

*Sammlung Ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften.* Neue Folge. No. 4. *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi.* Ed. by H. Boehmer. Second edition, revised by Friedrich Wiegand. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930, pp. xii + 75. M. 3.40.

The documents in this excellent collection embrace eighteen authentic, four doubtful, works, and the spurious *Regula et Vita fratrum vel sororum paeni-*

*tentum*. An appendix gives the oldest testimonies to the Minorite rule, to the stigmata, together with selections from Jacob of Vitriaco and from Thomas of Celano's History. There is a good bibliography.

*Mission und Theologie: Eine Untersuchung über den Missionsgedanken in den systematischen Theologie seit Schleiermacher*. By Otto Kuebler. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1929, pp. 270. Unbound, M. 14.

This is number 7 in the *Missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen*, edited by the late Professor Mirbt for the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Missionswissenschaft*. It won the prize offered in 1925 by the German Evangelical Missionary Conference. As its title indicates, the treatise is concerned to trace the recovery of the missionary idea and impulse in Lutheran theology since Schleiermacher and the Pietist awakening. This is a subject with which nobody save Julius Richter seems much to have occupied himself prior to the appearance of the work before us. P. V. N.

*Die heilige Birgitta von Schweden*. By Emilia Fogelklou. Trsl. from the Swedish by Maja Loehr. Introduction by Friedrich Heiler. Munich: E. Reinhardt, 1929, pp. 339, ill. M. 7.50 (broschiert).

This fourteenth century nordic saint has been somewhat overshadowed by her Italian contemporary, St. Catharine of Sienna. This is the more to be regretted, because Birgitta—wife and mother as well as saint and *Ordensgründerin*—is the more normal and appealing human figure. Heiler remarks that this book made him willing to pardon the naïve exaggeration of his guide through the Birgittan shrine at Vadstena, who maintained that the saint was the most remarkable woman of all history. The volume certainly deserves the high praise which Heiler bestows upon it, uniting as it does critical discernment and devotional feeling, historical accuracy and psychological insight. It is such a book as only a woman could have written about a woman.

P. V. N.

*The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*. By Etienne Gilson. Tr. by Edw. Bullough. Ed. by G. A. Elrington. Second edition. Herder, 1930, pp. xv + 372. \$2.75.

The new edition is larger than the first by a third, and contains new chapters on The Corporeal World and the Efficacy of Secondary Causes, Knowledge and Truth, and new sections in other chapters already appearing. The volume is a clear and lucid exposition of Thomas' philosophy (*not* his theology) and is already one of the standard works on the subject.

*Soixante Années de Theologie*. 1869-1929. Jubilee number of *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*. Louvain: Museum Lessianum, Rue des Récollets, 11; pp. 124.

An illustrated number, tracing the history of the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, and of theology during the period, chiefly in Dogmatics, Old Testament, Patristics, Moral Theology, and Canon Law.



*S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani De Lapsis.* Ed. by Jos. Martin. Bonn: Hanstein, 1930, pp. 48. M. 2.

A remarkably fine edition of Cyprian's *De Lapsis*, in the "Florilegium Patristicum" series of Geyer and Zellinger. There is a brief, succinct Introduction. The text is carefully established, and supported with an apparatus of variants. The notes are quite full, but contain only references to Scripture, and patristic parallels (quoted in detail).

*George Fox: Seeker and Friend.* By Rufus M. Jones. Harper, 1930, pp. viii + 224. \$2.00.

One cannot but admire and love the Quakers, though one can scarcely fail to see how much their movement owes to exaggerations and antagonisms within English Nonconformity in the 17th century. Quakerism is pure *sect*, not a religion; and should be understood as such, tolerated, loved, understood, and permitted to make its great contribution *within* the church, not forced to do so outside it. Even its peculiarities are not peculiar—*e.g.*, the principle underlying Quaker marriage, though Professor Jones fails to say so, and though he *appears* to claim the principle for Quakerism, was simply and literally the teaching of Catholic theology. It is due to Catholic theology, not to Quakerism, that the principle, "it is the consent of the parties that makes a marriage," is now generally recognized.

Professor Jones photographs George Fox in the light of his times, and the picture is a very realistic and interesting one, though touched up here and there with a stroke or two of apologetic.

#### Systematic Theology

*Der Sinn des Gebets. Fragen und Antworten.* [*The Meaning of Prayer. Questions and Answers.*] By Emanuel Hirsch. 2d edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928, pp. 63. Rm. 2.50.

The author of this little book is professor of theology at Göttingen as well as editor of the famous *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. He is equally at home in the world of philosophy and that of theology, having published two books on Luther as well as *Die ideale Philosophie und das Christentum* and *Jesus Christus der Herr*. Among his special interests as a reviewer is that intense individualist, Søren Kierkegaard, the greatest Danish thinker of the nineteenth century, whose writings have in recent years aroused much interest in Catholic as well as Protestant theological circles in the German-speaking world.

The first edition of *Der Sinn des Gebets* was based on Prof. Hirsch's farewell lecture before the Evangelical student body at the University of Bonn in the summer of 1921; but this second edition has been completely rewritten.

As frankly admitted by the author, this little study is personal and theological, rather than historical or philosophical. It is the sort of a book that can best be appreciated by those who have had first-hand religious experiences.

The tone is sincere and straightforward, and the writer's immense learning is never permitted to obtrude. While one cannot demand too much of a booklet

of but sixty-three pages, the reviewer feels that Hirsch's conception of prayer is too narrow and individualistic, and that, observing due proportions, more definite recognition should have been given, not only to the corporate aspect of prayer and to the sacramental principle, but also to "mental prayer" and "contemplation." This lack is doubtlessly due to the limitations of the author's confessional background.

In general one can say that this little study is both valuable and stimulating within the limits of its author's choice and experience. It is a well-written interpretation of the life of prayer by a great Lutheran scholar from the point of view of his personal spiritual life. *E. U.*

*Sacraments.* By A. L. Lilley. New York: Macmillan, 1929, pp. 159. \$1.50.

These lectures given in Canterbury and Hereford Cathedrals in Lent, 1928, are a protest against a too prevalent view of theology as "a kind of hard and unfeeling stepmother to religion, restraining the free play of its generous impulses under an alien bondage and prematurely stiffening the native elasticity of its soul." There are seven chapters, the final one on "The Doctrine of Transubstantiation" being no part of the original lectures, but rather an addition due to the encouragement of Canon Streeter. The writer sees in this doctrine as treated by St. Thomas Aquinas a very definite attempt to preserve the spiritual character of the Presence in the Eucharist, and seeks here to vindicate this frequently neglected aspect of the great scholastic's intention and accomplishment.

In the chapter on St. Augustine the author points out that the theological treatment of Sacraments throughout the patristic period is scanty in amount, incidental in character, and very often in appearance at least self-contradictory. In St. Augustine however we have the clear distinction between the *sacramentum* and the *res*—the first step in the elaboration of sacramental theory.

Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, to whom a chapter is given, provide the sacramental doctrine of the twelfth century, and St. Thomas Aquinas in chapter four is shown as definitely "removing the stress from the revealing word" and placing it firmly on "the redemptive will of God." The Sacraments as instruments of the redemptive Divine will—this is the burden of St. Thomas's teaching. The subsequent chapters on "Later Scholastic Discussion" involving a consideration of *ex opere operato* and on "The Modern Mind" are clear and helpful.

As a brief historical summary of the subject this book of Lilley's is excellent and every priest would do well to read it. *G. C. S.*

*The Christian Life.* By Joseph Stump. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. xiii + 308. \$2.50.

The author, who is President of Northwestern Theological Seminary in Minneapolis, tells us that his book contains the substance of what for a number of years has formed the basis of his seminary lectures on Christian Ethics. It is a thoroughly orthodox Lutheran system, scriptural in its basis and conservative in application. There is no evidence that the author feels the tension

of the moral problems that specially affect this age. He gives us a Lutheran theological ethic untouched by any influence of modernism. The first requisite of goodness is that one should be converted, since good works are found only in the regenerate. A large part of the book is given to an exposition of traditional Lutheran Dogmatics. The hopelessness of the state of the natural man is emphasized and the necessity of conversion stressed, since goodness can only spring from an inner transformation made possible by the mediatorial work of Christ and apprehended by faith.

A safe book for Lutheran seminaries, but not very inspiring to those who do not share the author's presuppositions. D. A. MCG.

### Reunion

*Progress and Prospects in Christian Reunion.* By Percy Varney Norwood. Morehouse: 1930, pp. 43. \$.10.

The subject of Church Unity is increasingly important in the mind of the Church. It is certain to be discussed at length, and the cause, we hope, furthered, by the gathering of Anglican Bishops at Lambeth this month.

Professor Norwood approaches the subject from the historical point of view, and traces briefly the history of reunion movements involving the Episcopal Church. He has a fine combination of qualities to bring to the problem: a scholar's devotion to truth, a priest's loyalty to the Church, a devout Christian's love of the brethren (without bothering to call them 'separated'), and a passionately earnest longing for the achievement of the unity of the Church of Christ on earth, here and now. The orientation of the Appendix on the Ministry is most desirable, if we are really to make progress in that direction.

*The Church of England and the Church of Christ.* By A. E. J. Rawlinson. Longmans, Green, 1930, pp. xi + 139. \$2.00.

The questions Dr. Rawlinson sets out to answer in this excellent little volume are the popular ones: "Does the Church of England possess genuine internal cohesion and unity? . . . To what is the Anglican Church really committed in matters of doctrine, and for what does it stand? Has it any intelligible *raison d'être* as a specific variant of the Christian tradition in the midst of a Christendom which more and more seeks after unity?"

The first two chapters sketch briefly the course of general Church history and the history of the Church of England, and point out the unfortunate effects of the Augustinian and continental Protestant doctrine of the Invisible Church. "It has brought it about that, in the most characteristically Protestant circles, men have acquiesced with a light heart in the existence, side by side, of an indefinite plurality of visible Church bodies, each with its own specific rules, regulations, and laws, precisely on the ground that the rules, regulations, and laws of the Church visible are, according to this view, in the last resort only of human and earthly significance" (p. 20). This point of view is of course one of the major obstacles in the way of organic unity at the present day, even among those who do not consciously adhere to the doctrine.

The author's irenic attitude—coupled with a vigorous loyalty to truths of fact in history—comes out in his definition of schism as 'an external division within Christendom, marring the unity of the Church upon earth.' Nevertheless, "schismatics, unless they are also apostates (i.e., unless they have ceased to be Christians at all), are not outside, but inside, the Church" (p. 21).

Ch. iii deals with Movements and Tendencies within the Church, ch. iv with the Anglican Church and the Future. There are two appendices, on the Bishops and the Prayer Book, and the Doctrine of the Real Presence and the Possibility of an Irenicon. The timely appearance of this book—preceding the Lambeth Council—by one of the foremost scholars of the English Church suggests the hope that it may have the wide reading which it deserves.

*The Conversations at Malines, 1921-1925.* Original Documents edited by Lord Halifax. London: Allan; Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. 308. \$1.40.

Transcripts of the account written at the time, by those present, of the Four Conversations at Malines, under the presidency of the late Cardinal Mercier, together with various memoranda. Though no immediate fruits of further unity were borne by the celebrated Conversations, we do not doubt that in time it will be seen that they were not sheer waste of time. Rome at present takes an absolutely unyielding attitude—quite different from that of the 16th and 17th centuries, or before 1870; but this is no argument that Rome will take the same attitude, say fifty years hence. Given a reunited Protestant Church; given fully restored relations between Canterbury and the East; given a better knowledge of history on both sides—given, in brief, some of the changes we hope are on the way, there is no reason to assume that Rome's *Non possumus* is her final word.

#### Practical Theology

*Objectives in Religious Education.* By Paul H. Vieth. Harper, 1930, pp. xiv + 331. \$2.50.

The keynote of current religious educational research and experiment is concrete and downright realism. The first question is: What are we trying to do? The second, like unto it, is: How can we best achieve it? Dr. Vieth's book is of this realistic sort; he is interested in positive, concrete aims and objectives, and in the way toward their realization. The book grew out of a questionnaire addressed to teachers of Religious Education—which some will think a handicap, since their concern is conceived primarily to be method, not content. However, the book is all the more representative for this reason, and deserves serious consideration by every one interested in religious education.

It is a pity that more emphasis was not placed upon the Church, Worship, Sacraments, the Inner Life—in brief, the whole round of activities and interests associated with historical or traditional Christianity outside the narrow horizons of modern Liberal Protestantism. What an implied commentary on the ineffectiveness of the modern Protestant Church with its purely subjective and introspective type of worship is the following: "The *school of religion* must carry the major part of the responsibility for making worship an actual fact in daily life" (p. 115).

But there is certainly hope that students who are looking for the things that really matter, the factors that are genuinely effective, in religious education will eventually come to realize the importance of these long-neglected elements in Christian nurture.

*Church School Organization and Administration.* By Leon C. Palmer. Morehouse, 1930, pp. 205. \$2.00.

An excellent compilation of material, full of suggestions and references for further reading. Not inspiring, but the best thing we have.

*The Bible in Art.* By Louise H. Daly. Scribner, 1930, pp. xviii + 306. \$2.00.

Two hundred Bible stories which one must know in order to understand Christian art. The theory—or the conclusion, as you will—is that “there exists in the Bible a definite body of material, the intuitive selection of the ages, which expresses elemental experiences, outlasting creeds and revolutions.”

Using this novel principle of selection the author has assembled a series of stories and images which are positively—and probably—of profound human interest. It would be a fascinating task to examine them from the theological standpoint, and analyze their appealing qualities, their theology (or its absence), their distinctive racial qualities (if any), their affiliations with world-literature and folklore generally.—But as it stands, the book will be most useful for the teachers of religion for whom it was intended.

*The Catholic Church and Confession.* By Leonard Geddes and Herbert Thurston. New York: Macmillan, 1928, pp. 104. \$1.00.

This little book is one of the Calvert Series, edited by Hilaire Belloc. It is a very simple statement, although a sufficient statement for popular use, concerning the doctrine and use of Confession.

There are only four chapters; the first contains a statement of the doctrine itself; the second, the doctrine in Holy Scripture; the third chapter is historical; the fourth is very practical, “Confession Judged by Reason and Experience.”

There are very few things that are peculiarly Roman in the book, so that those of our clergy who need a hand-book of this kind for distribution will find it useful. S. M. G.

*Spiritualism and the Church.* By Donald Hole. Morehouse, 1929, pp. 121. \$1.50.

This is a welcome little book on a subject which interests a great many people. Part one deals with “Spiritualism and Science,” and includes chapters on psychical research, spirit-controls, and spirit-communicators. Part two, dealing with “Spiritualism and Religion,” has chapters on diabolism, death, and the Christian teaching of the Communion of Saints.

Just the book to hand to a person who is dallying with ghaists and houlets and oofs and “wee things that go bomp in the nicht.” G. C. S.

## Devotional

*Selected Works of Richard Rolle, Hermit.* Transcribed with an introduction by G. C. Heseltine. Longmans, 1930, pp. xxxv + 245. \$3.00.

Richard Rolle, the English hermit of the 14th century, is one of the mystical writers whose books are of perennial interest. The present volume of selections contains *The Form of Living*, *Meditations on the Passion*, *A Treatise on the Ten Commandments*, *Of the Virtues of the Holy Name of Jesus*, a meditation: *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat*, *The Bee*, *Delight in God*, *Ghostly Gladness*, *The Amending of Life*, and selections from the *Commentaries*. The text is more than a transcription, and is in effect a translation into modern English. All Rolle's English works are included in the volume except his long *Commentary on the Psalter*.

*The Message of Francis of Assisi.* By H. F. B. Mackay. Morehouse, 1930, pp. ix + 102. \$1.75.

The author of *Saints and Leaders* and *Assistants at the Passion* here gives us a series of devotional and expository addresses on St. Francis, wherein the life and teaching of the saint is completely modernized and set forth in terms of present-day English thought.

*The Practice of Prayer.* By William C. Sturgis. Morehouse, 1930, pp. viii + 120. \$1.00.

Another volume in the Washington Cathedral Series—clear, simple, helpful, by a layman who has devoted his life to the spread and cultivation of a richer spiritual life within the Church.

## Homiletic

*Our Heavenly Father.* By Peter Green. Longmans, 1930, pp. xv + 112. \$1.50.

A popular—a very popular—apologetic for Christianity. The writer displays several marked virtues, directness of speech, confident faith and knowledge of the thought-processes of ordinary English men and women. In a short hundred pages he deals with all the great problems of Theology including God, man, sin, the universe, pain and the Fall. It will probably be more convincing to persons of limited education who are troubled by scientific thought than if it were more thorough. D. A. MCG.

*God's Communicating Door.* By H. Adye Prichard. Boston: R. G. Badger, 1930, pp. 99.

A clergyman, a Canon of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, writes some suggestions from the philosophy of psychical research. His book is meant to be a message of comfort to the bereaved, and to them he gives the assurance of the continuance of personal life and the recognition of our loved ones beyond the grave. He stresses the importance of the messages which have come to us from the Beyond through psychical means, and argues that the Church should set her seal on the validity of this method of gaining knowledge of the other life. D. A. MCG.



*The Heart's True Home.* By Francis M. Wetherill. Boston: R. G. Badger, 1930, pp. 136.

In a small book the author attempts to present the teachings of twenty of the world's leading religious faiths. He states in his Introduction that he has secured his information in person from leading representatives of all religions. The result of this method is a limited amount of rather poorly organized knowledge. D. A. MCG.

*The Life of All Living.* By Fulton J. Sheen. New York: Century, 1929, pp. ix + 236. \$1.75.

Dr. Sheen is a member of the Faculty of Theology in the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. In 1926 the University of Louvain awarded him the Cardinal Mercier prize of philosophy. He is the author of *God and Intelligence* and *Religion without God*.

This book, which carries of course a *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*, aims to present not a proof of the great truths of Christianity but a description and analogy of these verities in biological terms. What is life? The Fecundity of Life, Expansion and Mortification as Laws of Life, The Death of Life, and the Hymn of Life—these are the chapter headings. A few quotations from some of the chapters may illustrate Father Sheen's method of treatment.

Life: "There is no spontaneous generation in this world either naturally or supernaturally. Life must come from life. When we return to It we live, when we depart from It we die—and that life, the Divine Life, the only life, is the Life of God."

Expansion: "If the chemical could speak it would say to the plant: 'Unless you eat me you shall not have life in you.' If the plant could speak to the animal it would say, 'Unless you eat me you shall not have life in you.' If the animal and the plant and all could speak they would say to man: 'Unless you eat me you shall not have life in you.' With the same logic, but speaking from above and not from below because the soul is spiritual, Jesus Christ can and did actually say to the soul, 'Except you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood you shall not have life in you.'"

Mortification: "Unless there is Good Friday in our lives there will never be Easter. Unless there is a cross, there will never be an empty tomb. Unless there is the torn flesh, there will never be the glorified body."

This attempt to interpret religion biologically is rhetorical rather than scientific; to pure intellectuals it will have little appeal, though the devout may find it imaginatively helpful. G. C. S.

*Behind the Big Hill.* A Year of Six-minute Sermons for Children. By Robert C. Hallock and G. B. F. Hallock. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930, pp. xii + 232. \$2.00.

Fifty-seven little, pitter-patter, so-called sermons for children, half of them purporting to describe what went on within the big enchanted hill to which Pied Piper lured the boys and girls. Good books for children are rare. Good

sermons for children are rarer. These are conspicuous examples of what should be avoided in sermons to children who after all are not utterly devoid of brains. They are patronizing, condescending, mushy, and silly, and I cannot imagine any self-respecting child enduring any one of them for even six minutes. G. C. S.

*What If He Came?* By Garfield Hodder Williams. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930, pp. 205. \$2.00.

Reading the Gospel of St. Mark on the Mount of Olives during Holy Week and Easter 1928 at the time of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, the writer fell into reverie and dreamed of the life of Jesus reënacted in Wales today. A holiday in 1929 gave him the opportunity to put these imaginings on paper. This book is the result. Written in narrative style as by a modern Peter it recounts the Gospel story in modern terms. The Great Teacher dies in jail, not on a cross, the coroner's inquest giving the verdict, "Death from natural causes," but a policeman standing by says under his breath, "Natural causes be damned—unnatural goodness, if I know anything about it." At the grave a young man announces, "This was his grave, but he is not here now. He has gone back to North Wales." Terror gripped them—they set out to find him, and—

"Hello! What's up?"

"Wake up old man!"

"Where am I?"

"Well, strange as it may seem to you, you are lying under the fir trees on the Mount of Olives. You are at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council—and I regret to say you've been asleep during conference time. They are all waiting for you in the hall. You are speaking on "The Home Base of Missions!"

The author is a nephew of the late Sir George Williams, founder of the Y. M. C. A., and is also the namesake of President Garfield. He was formerly the secretary of the Missionary Council of the Church of England, and was for three years in charge of the Y. M. C. A. work in India. G. C. S.

*Doubts and Difficulties.* By Cyril Alington. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1929, pp. xii + 196. \$2.00.

This book is a discussion of certain doubts and difficulties connected with the Christian religion in general and the Church of England in particular. It is written by the Headmaster of Eton. The first part of the book is in the form of a series of conversations between a parson and a sceptical man of science and is rather dull going. The last half of the book is made up of letters to the scientist's wife in reply to some theological questions of hers. The discussion covers a large range of topics from the questions about Christ's divinity and the nature of prayer to questions about the Athanasian Creed and self denial in Lent. The letters are simple and straightforward exposition and are really worth while. C. L. S.

*The Other Side of Main Street.* By Wilder Buell. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929, pp. 339. \$2.00.

This is a novel of life in a small American town apparently intended to bring out the noble qualities of the dwellers on "Main Street" in contrast to some other recent novels whose purpose seems to be to satirize the weaknesses of these same individuals. But, however praiseworthy its purpose may be, as a novel it leaves much to be desired. The plot is hackneyed and the character drawing is anything but convincing. C. L. S.

*Truths to Live By.* By J. Elliot Ross. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, pp. x + 246. \$2.00.

The publication of a book by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church with an introduction by Glenn Frank is in itself something of an event. Father Ross is the religious advisor to Roman Catholic students at Columbia University and has preached widely at colleges and universities throughout the country.

This book is a defense of the Christian conception of God, of the nature of man, and of immortality. It is simply written as for popular consumption, yet the scholarship is sound and the book throughout shows evidence of wide reading, especially in the field of contemporary science. It is in the main a restatement of familiar arguments, but it is well thought out, full of excellent illustrations, and here and there throws new light on old problems. C. L. S.

*Calvary To-day.* By Charles Fiske. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1929, pp. 105. \$1.00.

Bishop Fiske has given us in this book a series of Good Friday addresses which were originally delivered in Trinity Church, New York. As Bishop Fiske points out in the introduction, they contain nothing striking and nothing new. They are simple and straightforward meditations on our Lord's seven words from the cross, by a man who knows and loves his Saviour, and who knows and loves people. Their very simplicity and directness commend them.

C. L. S.

*Voices of the Age.* Edited by J. Presley Pound. Harper and Bros., 1929, pp. xiv + 222. \$2.50.

Bishop Brent—Henry Sloane Coffin—Ozora Davis—Sherwood Eddy—Harry Emerson Fosdick—George A. Gordon—Lynn Harold Hough—Dean Inge—L. P. Jacks—Rufus Jones—Bishop McConnell—Charles C. Morrison—Reinhold Niebuhr—F. W. Norwood—Ernest Fremont Tittle—fifteen first-class preachers whose prophetic voices are justly recognized as "voices of the age."

In his foreword, the editor explains how they were selected. A questionnaire was sent to more than a thousand leading ministers and educators throughout the Christian world—Germany, France, England, etc. Seven hundred and sixty-three replied. Then self-addressed postal cards were sent to professors in sixty-eight representative colleges and seminaries with the request that a card be given to each of ten outstanding students in the school. Five hundred

and eighty-nine students replied. The fifteen preachers whose sermons are included in the volume were the chosen ones of both groups voting separately.

That these are excellent sermons goes without saying. Most of them we have read before in magazines or published volumes. For example Dr. Coffin's "Is Religion a Burden?" appeared in 1914 in his "University Sermons" under the title "Religion: A Load or a Lift." But they will bear re-reading.

It is a pity Anglicans have only two representatives, Bishop Brent and Dean Inge, but surely their's are two of the most authentic voices of the age recorded in this volume. The Foreword has this touching closing paragraph:

"As this book goes to press there comes the sadness of the passing of the beloved Bishop Charles H. Brent. He was true, fearless, and humble. The granting of the permission to use his sermon in this book was one of his last official acts. The world has lost a great soul, but his blessing shall live on forever." G. C. S.

*Sin, Suffering, and Sorrow.* By Walter Carey. Longmans, 1928, pp. 27. \$.65.

*Warum?* That plaintive question "Why" which rises to the lips of sufferers demands of Christians an answer based on at least a sound working philosophy of life.

Bishop Carey simply and directly gives us his answer and you may be sure it is definitely and attractively Christian. It is in a word the philosophy of the cross. To suffer is to be called to the innermost shrine, and your suffering can be transmuted into redemption for the world—in Christ.

"Nail your sufferings to the Cross! Remember, 'the closer to the Cross, the nearer to Jesus': you are called to be not a spectator of His sufferings, but to be actually crucified with Him. Suffering is *not* the primary will of God, but in our world it is inevitable. Suffering if endured in the spirit of courage and consecration turns to active redemption. Christ so turned it. He so turns it in you!"

This little book is an excellent one to hand to those whose sufferings and sorrows force up the repeated and anguished question "Why?" G. C. S.

*The Message of the American Pulpit.* By Lewis H. Chrisman. New York: Richard R. Smith and Co., 1930, pp. 262. \$2.00.

The contemporary American Pulpit,—what is the spirit and content of its message? To discover the answer Dr. Chrisman has studied intensively for the past two years over six thousand sermons printed in books and magazines—an appalling task, in spite of which the author still apparently preserves his sanity and his faith.

The presentation of his findings is cleverly done. Some sermons are quoted in part; some are briefed; some are paraphrased. The material is arranged in chapters under significant generalizations like these: The Interpretation of God; Jesus; The Bible; Social Betterment; Sin; Evolution; Ethics of the Flesh; International Relations; The Larger Hope.

The sources of sermons quoted or referred to are given in foot-notes which include the volume used and the publisher.

Looking over these foot-notes it is clear that most of the preachers cited are Protestant ministers—Fosdick, Coffin, Sockman, Luccock, Dean Brown, Krumbine, McConnell, Hough, Merrill, Vance, Atkins, Tittle, Gordon, Hughes, Jefferson, Palmer, Fitch and a host of other princes of the Protestant pulpit. Only one Roman Catholic is quoted and only five Anglicans, viz.: Joseph Fort Newton, the late Bishop Charles Williams, Bishop Freeman, Doctor Drury, and Dr. Woodroffe of Detroit.

Bishop Brent does not appear, nor Robert Norwood, nor Russell Bowie, nor Bishops Manning, Slattery, Irving Johnson, nor Anderson, though all of these and many others have published volumes of distinguished sermons.

The net deduction from these findings is that the American pulpit is modern, alive, vital, closely in touch with the demands of a new world, and is keeping the fires of spiritual idealism flaming upon the altars of American life by continuous emphasis upon the unshaken and unshakable truths of the Gospel which are the same yesterday, today, and forever. The American preacher can say to the men of this or of any generation, "Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure, and Jesus Christ challenges you to put Him at the centre of your life." G. C. S.

*Signs of These Times.* By Willard L. Sperry. Doran, 1929, viii + 179. \$2.00.

Dean Sperry sees clearly, thinks clearly, and writes clearly. In his chapters on Humanism in this keen little book of less than two hundred pages he describes the "humanist" as struggling "not against the ethical hostility of things but against their ethical indifference, against the passionless neutrality of things—a more difficult and ambitious spiritual endeavour than that of the old dualist to overcome the evil god of this world." He states the humanists' position fairly and sympathetically, but he doesn't see "much prospect that this religion of humanity will succeed in persuading men to remain content with the agnosticism which they affect toward the envioning mysteries." . . . "Restricting religion to the concerns of man as man, the humanist denies to man his most characteristic ability to ask hard questions about the ultimate mystery and to hazard working answers." . . . "And it is difficult to see how this religion of humanity can maintain within its bundle of life those contrasts which religion requires. My God, like me as he may be, must also be unlike me. The idea of the divine requires that. The religion of humanity may begin by proposing a difference between myself as worshipper and the hero or idealized race as the object of my worship, but it is difficult to maintain this contrast."

Quietly, soberly, urbanely, the Dean of Harvard Divinity School considers Humanism, Mysticism, Individualism, Non-Coöperation, Attitudes, Wisdom.

He takes the long view of religion and looks with a level eye. He faces candidly and gladly the modern point of view: he pleads quietly but eloquently for reality in religion as against posing and attitudinizing. But he himself is definitely convinced that "God is, and must be the object of our faith." If our faith ceases to search after Him and find Him as its object, then "it would seem better to retire the words 'God' and 'religion' from the vernacular."

These, the first Ayer Lectures of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, are just the thing to put into the hands of clergy or laity who are interested in the significant religious movements of our day. C. C. S.

#### Essays, Classics

*The Sceptical Biologist.* By Joseph Needham. Norton, 1930, pp. 270. \$3.00.

A collection of the author's critical and historical essays, prefaced by a charming dialogue in the manner of the 17th century, ensconced in the Garden of Carneades, between "Themistius" and "Eleutherius"—a clever piece of writing which does succeed in setting off the author's point of view in admirable fashion. Most of the essays have appeared before. Two of them are directly concerned with religion; all the others, more or less—since religion is bound up with science, indissolubly, for good or ill, in the minds of all thinking persons today. The author's point of approach is already familiar to readers of *Science, Religion, and Reality*, and the book will be warmly welcomed by them.

*Essays and Addresses.* By John Burnet. Macmillan, 1930, pp. 299. \$4.00.

John Burnet, for thirty-four years Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews, was one of the greatest Hellenists and Platonists of our day. The memoir by Lord Charnwood, prefixed to this posthumous collection, gives the simple relevant facts of his life. The reprinting of several of his papers, now mostly out of print, is of great help to students of the classics. Theologians will be interested in the following: Law and Nature in Greek Ethics, The Religious and Moral Ideas of Euripides, The Socratic Doctrine of the Soul, Shakespeare and Greek Philosophy, How Platonism came to England, and Aristotle.

One would like to quote a dozen passages; let this suffice: "The revival of Greek was really due to the Councils of Florence and Terrara, at which an attempt was made to adjust the differences between the Eastern and the Western Churches, and the most interesting figure for us in them is the Greek Platonist Bessarion, afterwards Cardinal of the Roman Church, who made the original text of Plato accessible to western Europe" (p. 276; cf. 110).—And we wish there were space to quote his brilliant exposé of the popular etymology of "Education" (p. 102). Alas, how often we have been bored by it! Thank Heaven, at last it turns out to be perfectly absurd.

*Plato, with an English Translation.* Vol. VII. *Timaueus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles.* By R. G. Bury. New York: Putnam, 1929, pp. xv + 636. \$2.50.

Plato's *Timaueus* was for a long time the one outstanding medium of Platonic influence upon Western theology and philosophy. From Boethius to the Renaissance, it was almost the only dialogue of Plato's known west of Constantinople and Mt. Athos. Hence the traditional view of Platonism, still



surviving among us, has been based very largely upon this one document. Though Plato himself would not have thought it his best work, it is the one by which he has been best known—thanks to the historical accident first named or to the situation which made this accident possible: the widespread interest in theological and cosmological speculations in the late classical age of southern European culture. As the translator of this latest volume in the Loeb series remarks in his Introduction (p. 13), "In truth, there is but little of metaphysics in the *Timaeus*; it is mainly occupied with the attempt to give a 'probable' account of matters which belong to the sciences of physics and physiology. . . . Indeed we may fairly suppose that one of the main purposes . . . is to provide a permanent record of the discoveries of Plato's friends Theaetetus and Eudoxus in the field of mathematics and astronomy, by enshrining them in a general treatise for which no fitter title could be found than the words 'God geometrizes.'" Since clear interpretation must precede accurate translation, the translator of this volume, working from the point of view of the statement first quoted, will not be expected to take refuge in 'mysticity'—as Pater called it—or excuse himself from the duty of clearness by a false sense of the profundity of meaning involved and 'cast dust in our eyes,' as Emerson complained of the mathematical sections.

Of the *Epistles*, Bury inclines to accept as authentic the seventh and eighth; these are the 'open' letters—a genus briefly but accurately described in the special Introduction (pp. 385 ff.) and of interest to biblical students.—The text of the volume is that of the Zurich edition. Important MS or editorial variants are noted in the apparatus.

#### Miscellaneous

*England* (The Blue Guides). Ed. by Findlay Muirhead. Third edition. London and N. Y.: Macmillan; Paris: Hachette, 1930, pp. lxxx + 615, with 82 maps and plans. \$5.60.

The Blue Guides are already well known as reliable and up to date collections of information most valuable to travelers. In view of the number of Americans going to England this summer, drawn thither by the Lambeth Council, the Modern Churchman's Conference, the Summer School of Biblical Studies, or other gathering, it is fortunate that a new edition of the present volume has just appeared. It contains many changes, bringing it up to date—in prices charged for lodging, transportation, etc.; in motor routes; the new war memorials; restorations of churches and cathedrals and other buildings. Professor G. B. Brown has contributed an interesting "Introduction to the Study of English Monuments." The maps are exactly what the traveler wants—indeed, the volume as a whole contains just the information one desires when setting out for the Mother Country.

*The Red Harvest. A Cry for Peace.* Ed. by Vincent G. Burns. Macmillan, 1930, pp. xxi + 433. \$3.75.

An anthology of war poetry, assembled from the point of view of the gospel of peace. It is amazing, the amount of poetry that has been created in the

interest of world peace since 1918. The best of it, old and new, is gathered together in this volume, and will do much good service for the cause.

*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Ed. by H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack. Lfgn. 71-76: 'Micha' to 'Niederlande.' Tübingen: Mohr, 1930. M. 1.80 each.

A continuation of the new edition of this invaluable encyclopedia, bringing it well down into Vol. iv.

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## THE FAITH OF THE UNITED CHURCH

By FREDERICK C. GRANT, Western Theological Seminary

When we think of the Faith of the United Church of the Future, and its formal expression in creeds and confessions, at once the problem presents itself to us as one that is much vaster than the reduction of creeds and theological formulæ of the past to a common basis of agreement. That problem in itself would be difficult enough—*e.g.* to find the highest common denominator in the Catechism of Trent, the Augsburg Confession, and the Thirty-Nine Articles. But the real problem is to relate creeds and confessions to the common faith of the whole Christian church—to the faith that lies behind and is presupposed by these and other formal theological documents; and this is indeed a much larger and more intricate problem. At the same time, it is a simpler one, though its vastness will no doubt require a much longer time for the solution, more patient effort, more careful thought, more sympathetic understanding.

For I take it that even the amount of agreement reached in the IVth Report at Lausanne, for example, excellent and gratifying as that is, does not go the whole way;<sup>1</sup> and the three appended notes at the end of the Report indicate some of the further problems that now lie before us. (1) The

<sup>1</sup> *Faith and Order*, 1927, ed. H. N. Bate, pp. 466 f.

problem of agreement between East and West upon the interpolation or excision of the *Filioque* clause, and the use and authority of the Apostles' Creed, is one that careful historical study may go some way toward solving. Careful historical study, unhindered by partisan prejudices and sectional loyalties, may be expected to do much, particularly in freeing the advocates of one or the other position from those readings-in of later political and ecclesiastical inferences which, alas, time—the healer of many human ills—has not thus far been able to eradicate.

(2) Similarly the recognition that local churches or groups of churches retain the right to determine for themselves the use to be made of the Creeds and other formularies—*e.g.* liturgical or extra-liturgical, as professions of faith antecedent to admission, in religious instruction (such as catechisms), or as standards of orthodox belief—such a recognition is consonant with sound reason and is not contrary to Christian practice in the past; nor is it wholly contrary to the practice which a thoroughly Catholic body might consistently permit in the future. Only upon a rigid, mechanical, and really political conception of uniformity must such latitude and freedom of use and interpretation be excluded. And if there is one note that most probably will be lacking in the Church of the future, it is the note of cast-iron uniformity. As we look back three and four centuries into the past, it appears to many of us that one of the chief ills from which the Church then suffered was the attempt—alike among Catholics and Protestants—to enforce a thorough-going type of uniformity in faith and worship upon all who named the name of Christ and shared in the Church's sacraments.

(3) Similarly, it may be allowed that single churches, or even groups of churches, may dispense entirely with formal liturgical or other public use of Creeds and Confessions of Faith. There was a time in the history of the Church when Creeds were unknown, though it was only a brief period. The Creeds arose, one after another, the later being revisions

and amplifications of the earlier, as need required and heresies had to be excluded. Nevertheless, even in that earliest period there was something that functioned as creed or common confession, and it is not difficult to pick out of the New Testament the articles of common acceptance which marked off Christians from non-Christians. Even so brief and summary a formula as "Jesus is Lord" was a creed *in nuce*, and carried with it a definite set of connotations which were positively Christian. The process of creed building cannot be viewed as a slow and steady lapse into dogmatism; it was the most natural and inevitable process in the world, if men took their faith seriously, as they did—since they were ready to die for it.

Hence it may be said that although occasional variations in the use of creeds, and even the complete non-use of creeds, may be recognized and permitted, without question of the orthodoxy, the loyalty and integrity of these exceptional groups, still there are two factors which must continue to mark off such procedure as exceptional and, one might almost add, eccentric. (a) The first is the sense of historic continuity which pervades the great Christian communions; any treasure so precious as these great classic documents of the common Christian past must be retained in some measure or other, not as scientific and up-to-date formulations of the faith, but as venerable historic affirmations which, like the classic documents of human freedom in political history, still have meaning for today. (b) The second factor is the permanent need for definite, positive statements of the faith and expressions of common Christian belief. The Church is not a society for research, but for salvation, for doing something in the world, for acting upon a faith which is presupposed and so bringing men into union with God through Jesus Christ. It is perfectly permissible for a man to join the Society for Psychical Research or the Association for the Advancement of Science without committing himself in advance to any particular set of beliefs, physical, psychical, astronomical, or

biological. Of course he will find very soon that unless he is prepared to accept *some* dogmas: e.g. the possibility of valid spiritualist phenomena, or the general probability of biological evolution, then he is somewhat *de trop* and out of place; whereupon he will very likely resign or fail to forward his annual dues, and thus drop out. The Church is not alone in affirming dogmas; there are scientific dogmas just as positive as those ecclesiastical tenets which ordinarily bear the name, often with reproach. And if the Church is an active and not a speculative organization, there is every reason for it to have a definite statement or statements of its beliefs, outlook, aims, and aspirations. Some kind of creed or platform is indispensable in a religious organization as definite and purposeful as the Christian Church.

We are sometimes asked why it is that the Church, or the churches, require subscription to theological formulæ whereas in science no antecedent subscription is required. The answer has already been suggested in part: viz., the Church is engaged in the task of remaking human life, not in speculation or research. I believe that the distinction is not sufficiently recognized at the present day, since many persons now view the religious life primarily as the individual quest for God and spiritual satisfaction, without due regard for the social responsibilities of the Church as an organization, or for that genuine factor in religious experience which Baron von Hügel denominated the "Institutional." Anglicans feel it very strongly; so do Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Presbyterians, as a rule, and some other groups—especially Continental—and many individuals in other bodies, even here in America, where the general tendency of Protestantism is, I believe, to ignore it.

But a further answer to our question, why science can dispense with creedal subscription and religion cannot, lies in a recognition of the falsity of the contrast that is often set up between the two. There are primary doctrines in Christianity, and there are secondary. The secondary depend in



large measure upon the primary; and, indeed, there are some which one might call tertiary, depending upon the primary and secondary. The trouble often is, men contrast the 'dogmatism' of the Church upon the primary doctrines with the 'freedom' of science in asserting her secondary and tertiary hypotheses. For example, a primary doctrine of the Church is the existence and nature of God; a secondary is the inspiration of Holy Scripture; a tertiary, perhaps, the date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel. A primary doctrine of science is the first axiom of Euclid or, in physics, the laws of energy; a secondary doctrine is the genetic interrelation of all living species in a scheme of evolution; a tertiary doctrine is the astrophysical theory of mass-reduction and the degradation of energy in the stars. Now it is simply not fair to contrast the freedom with which an astronomer advances some particular theory of nebular contraction before a scientific association with the dogmatism with which a Christian congregation affirms its faith in God as the mainspring and presupposition of the redemptive life found in Christ and lived in union with Him for the good of man in general and the salvation of the individual soul in particular. Put it the other way around: contrast the freedom with which some tertiary religious doctrine or hypothesis is advanced, *e.g.* the validity of apostolic miracles, or the Mandæan outlook of the Fourth Gospel, with the dogmatism a man might encounter who seriously undertook to challenge some primary doctrine of modern science—let us suppose that he endeavored once more to defend the Ptolemaic astronomy, or elaborated the properties of *phlegethon*. The latter contrast is no fairer than the former; they are equally absurd.

Furthermore, the data with which science deals are different in kind and often in number from those with which religion is concerned—*i.e.* in its affirmation of faith. How few and how largely probable are the data of science is not always sufficiently recognized—*e.g.* those upon which Henry Fairfield

Osborn's recent pronouncement<sup>2</sup> of the age of the human species is based: 50,000,000 years, upon the basis of the scanty evidence of a fully-formed human skull (*i.e.* Piltdown man) embedded in Tertiary rocks! That is to say, if man existed *as man* a million and a half years ago, he must have *begun* evolving much longer ago than that, say, 50,000,000 years back. Fifty million years is the age Lord Kelvin allowed the sun in his present state, our 'aged luminary,' his course now about half-run! Or take the evidence upon which Professor Eddington and others base their hypothesis of the internal structure of the stars; temperature, chemical composition, mass, density, all these are data derived by instruments extremely delicate and not wholly accurate, and suffering inevitably from the necessity of being operated on the surface of the earth rather than somewhere out in space, affected both by the solar radiation to which all things terrestrial are subject and, worse still, by having to operate through this woolly blanket of atmosphere with which we are surrounded; these are the data—all the rest is brilliant, magnificent, and very probable hypothesis.

By contrast the data of religion, so far as religion is a research into the unknown, are most ample and direct—the experience that men have had and still do have of God, the life of the spirit and inner soul. Instruments do not provide the data; these come directly, and the classic doctrines of Christianity are little more than positive affirmations of these direct data of religious experience, with the immediate inferences to be drawn therefrom, and the false inferences ruled out. Belief in Christ as divine, *e.g.*, is not a deduction from certain scripture passages, plus the tradition of a lofty human character and of a dynamic quality of leadership—*i.e.* something purely historical and traditional—combined in turn with Jewish Platonic and Stoic speculations regarding a *Logos* in creation, together with the influences brought into

<sup>2</sup> At the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Des Moines, Dec. 27, 1929.

early Christianity by converts from paganism and mythology; on the contrary, the roots of that doctrine are to be found in the continued and repeated experience of the Church, chiefly no doubt in worship, in prayer, in moral, social, and mystical experience. Belief in Christ can be 'verified,' as we say, in a man's own moral and religious experience today, without going back to the New Testament or the Fathers or the Ecumenical Councils. And so it is with the other 'primary' doctrines of the Church, which emerge out of human experience, often as little more than a transcript of that experience, and with a minimum of hypothesis or interpretation.<sup>3</sup> In fact, historically viewed, Christianity is not so much a religion among others, as *the* classic and consummate religion of mankind, with its roots buried deep in the immemorial past, and deep also in the common life of man today, akin to the best in every religion that the world has known, nourished by that and nourishing it, and affirming as its common faith those doctrines which all mankind have affirmed, in some form or other, in the measure in which they have lived a moral and a spiritual life, and were led by the divine *Tutor* to the full revelation of Himself in Christ.

Now I say all this, not because I am off on a tangent and happen to be interested in the problems of science and religion; but because, as I see it, the whole vast problem of the utility of Creeds and Confessions of Faith lies involved here. It is indeed a vast one—vaster than trimming this, that, or the other confession to fit the common purpose of affirming the Faith; but at the same time it is a simple one, as I said at the outset. For I believe the way of progress lies first in recognizing the *historical* significance of the creeds and confessions of the past—so that their real values and meanings stand out, minus their later accretions of meaning and the clustering loyalties that so often obscure both their historical significance and their real limitations both in the past and in the present, and second in emphasizing the real *importance*

<sup>3</sup> For example, the Apostles' Creed.

and value, and indeed necessity, as well as the propriety and right, of creeds or other expressions of the common Christian faith today, even in this highly 'undogmatic' and 'free' age of science. There is where the real problem lies, in reunion as in religious education and in evangelism and in every other effort to spread or establish the Christian religion at the present day. And I believe the way to go about this task is to go back to first principles and inquire, What is the Christian faith, lying back of creeds and formulæ—the living faith, still alive, which lives at the heart of the Church's professions? If creeds are required for the affirming of this faith, let us have creeds. If not, then let us not have them. If this faith can survive and be propagated without creeds, then let us have done with them.

As I see it, the concrete task before all those who look for redemption in Jerusalem—the restoration of the outward unity and fellowship of the Christian Church—is to inquire diligently the actual historical significance and the real present value of the Creeds and Confessions of the religious bodies or communions to which they belong. How did they originate, and in response to what needs or demands? How far did they satisfy these requirements at the time, and how far do they satisfy them at present? Are the needs still recognizable factors in the religious life of today? How are they related—how were they related once, and how are they related now—to the Creeds and Confessions of other bodies? Or do they take no cognizance of other formal expressions of the Faith? How satisfactorily do they set forth the common faith of the Christian Church as a whole—*i.e.* those basic beliefs without professing which Christianity would cease to be Christian? How do they actually function in the religious life of men and women today—not as battle-cries of the clan, but as 'wholesome nourishment of the doctrine of Christ'?

It may be next to self-evident to an Anglican, at least to an American Episcopalian, that the two venerable patristic creeds—the Apostles' and so-called Nicene—are ample, and

that beyond the affirmations contained in these full 'freedom of faith' is to be found. But this is not enough. It does nothing to help a Lutheran or a Presbyterian to solve his problems—all too likely it will be viewed as one more effort to Anglicize or 'Episcopalianize' other bodies of Christians. It *may* be that we ought to accept—or require—more rather than fewer affirmations of the common faith. For the ultimate question is not, What are our creeds?, but rather, What is the Christian Faith?

*Appended Note*

The study of "Symbolism," the analysis and comparison of creeds and confessions, is not a popular one in the English-speaking churches. Almost the only textbook is still the volume by the late Charles Augustus Briggs in Clark's and Scribner's 'International Theological Library'; the only collection of documents in English is the still older *Creeds of Christendom* by Philip Schaff. In Germany, on the other hand, the study is pursued with vigor; old and standard works are brought up to date from time to time, while new books appear in steady succession. The works of Professor Mulert and Professor Walther are among the recent textbooks in this field; and Professor Caius Fabricius' ambitious undertaking in twenty volumes, *Corpus Confessionum*, was announced a year or two ago. The tendency of German works is to narrow the scope and take in little beyond Protestant confessions, Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Reformed. Rome—at least since the days of Moehler and Döllinger—no longer invites comparison, and what might become a most fruitful study in backgrounds and contrasts remains a practical impossibility due to over-isolation. For a thorough-going historical study, all the great sixteenth-century confessions, Roman, Protestant, Anglican, and others, should be studied side by side and in mutual relation against the common background of traditional Western theology, and in the light of the stirring ecclesiastical-political events and movements of the time. Such a thorough historical study might well contribute to a saner evaluation, on all hands, of the permanent and the transient elements in those minutely articulated formulæ of concord—and, alas, too often of discord.

## CONTEMPORARY TENDENCIES IN ANGLICAN CHURCH MUSIC

*By* HOLLAND L. CHURCH, St. Joseph's Church, Chicago

It has been the theory of religious art as expressed in the thought of the Catholic Church that it exists not for the decoration of the various offices of divine worship, but rather for edification and inspiration of the faithful. In the worship of the temple, particularly in the Eucharistic service, all the fine arts are brought into play. On a background of architecture, sculpture, painting and needlework, the Church brings forward the resources of music of different schools and combines all the fine arts into a mighty ensemble to reinforce the teaching of the Divine Liturgy. But it must be remembered that, as art is introduced into the temple, not for its own sake, but for its teaching and inspirational value, it must derive its form and content solely from the Church. The Church edifice is but an expression in stone of the mystic Body of Christ. The pictures and statues on the walls and altars are not for the pleasure of the eye, but for the instruction of the worshiper by means of the eye. Likewise, music is brought into the offices of the Church, not to please the æsthetic senses of the refined listener, but to lift men's hearts upward, to enable them to join with the heavenly hosts in the worship of the New Jerusalem.

To accomplish this purpose, the music of the sanctuary should be of a different type than the music intimations of which are wholly secular. This need, and the effort to produce Church music to meet it, have given rise to the idea that some forms of music are intrinsically better adapted to sacred uses than are others. Is it true that Gregorian chant and the music of Palestrina are more intrinsically spiritual than the music of Gounod or of Guilmant? Is a three-four



rhythm essentially less religious than a four-four rhythm? Not if we understand the history of the growth of music. Association, and not content, causes intimations of spirituality. A style of music distinctly ecclesiastical never has developed apart from the contemporary current of secular art, but always together with it. The styles that we commonly designate as Church styles are also secular styles carried to a higher degree of refinement. These styles have survived in the Church after secular art has moved into other forms of expression. They have been made holy by the claim which the association with the liturgy inspires, after they have disappeared in the evolution of secular art. The world then comes to think of them as inherently sacred, rather than as merely conventionally religious.

In the *Motu Proprio*, which appeared in 1904, Pope Pius X greatly exalted Gregorian chant and the music of the Palestrina school, as possessing an inherent spirituality which other music does not possess. Frankly, no one knows just how the melodies we call Gregorian came into existence. The prevailing opinion, in the light of more recent research, seems to be that they are derived from the current secular music of the Greeks, and adapted to Church use. At any rate, it is quite demonstrable that they are not essentially sacred in origin. The odor of sanctity attributed to them is due, not to their inherent character, but to the fact that secular music has long moved away from these humble origins, and association with the temple has added a quality that they do not by nature possess.

The same thing is true of the music of the Palestrina school. Until brought to the high stage of perfection by Palestrina, and by him especially dedicated to the use of the Church, both sacred and secular music at that time were cast in the same mold. It is the same type of association that has sanctified the Gregorian chant, that has made the music of the polyphonic style to be regarded as sacred in its intimations.

The Pope, in the same document in which he extolls Gregorian and Palestrina, condemns the florid Austrian school of Church music, of which Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven are the chief exponents. While it is true that masses by these composers follow the current trend in oratorio, opera and symphony, it is to be noted also that secular music has developed so radically since the days of these great masters that their music sounds old fashioned and sacred, compared with the production of contemporary composers. It would seem that the same method of criticism that places Palestrina and the Gregorians in the category of Church music should raise the Church music of the great classic masters into the same class, and pronounce them worthy to accompany a solemn celebration of the holy mysteries. One might carry this principle down to the present time and assert that if secular music continues to take in new territory at every turn, sacred song of a century hence may follow the harmonies and rhythms of present day music. The history of music shows that sacred and secular music move in practically the same channels, but the Church, being a bit conservative and cautious, is always behind secular developments. The net result of this is that there is no such thing as distinctly sacred or spiritual music, and the music we call sacred is so only because of its associations.

In view of the fact that this method of interpreting musical history tends to eliminate the bars that divide sacred from secular forms, it becomes clear that the whole repertoire that time has sanctified for use of the temple is available for Anglican services, as there is no ecclesiastical authority vested with the right to make arbitrary pronouncements. There are only two criteria to be applied in the selection of music for the Church offices: the music must possess artistic worth and must be far enough removed from current secular models in order not to produce the same reaction.

As the English Mass rite is cognate with the Roman rite, it is perfectly natural that they should possess the same

musical requirements; hence all the musical treasures of the Church can be made use of in so far as they can be adapted to English texts. The whole Latin Ordinarium Missæ finds place except the Benedictus Qui Venit, which, however, is commonly used. There is also opportunity for the introduction *in toto* of the entire Proprium Missæ. Usage always permits the singing of an introit, so why not chant the ancient plain song introits in place of modern unliturgical substitutes? The hymn or anthem permitted between the Epistle and Gospel affords opportunity for the restoration of the old Graduals, Tracts, and Sequences, which are effective when sung in *Falsi Bordoni*. The provision for the Offertory anthem can be satisfied by chanting the ancient proper Offertory Sentence, then following it with an *ad libitum* motet. During the ablutions, wherever in the Mass they are taken, may be used the Communiones, instead of the commonly heard *Nunc Dimittis*.

In view of the almost identical structure of the Latin and English Mass rites, the use of Anglicized Latin texts is historically justifiable, provided, of course, the effect is artistic and devotional. Masses of Gounod, Mozart, Weber, Beethoven are frequently used. The writer often wonders why those of Schubert are not so frequently sung. True, they require well-balanced and carefully trained choirs, but those who attempt them will be rewarded for their efforts. All are available in satisfactory English texts. The first one, in F major, is regarded by Grove as the most remarkable First Mass ever produced with the exception of Beethoven's Mass in C. Number two, in G Major, is short and contains much beautiful music, and not one page that one would willingly spare. The third, in B flat, is the most brilliant of them all, and is very popular in Vienna. The fourth, in C Major, is short and not difficult. One feels in the dainty melodic fabric the influence of Mozart, though in the orchestral treatment the master hand of Schubert is everywhere in evidence. The last two, the one in A flat and that in E flat,

respectively, are much longer and more serious. They appear to be the results of Schubert's most mature genius. Though they cannot be sung entire, without unduly prolonging the service, judicious pruning will bring them down to the requirements of the Liturgy.

Within recent years an attempt has been made to restore the ancient Latin Plain Song to a place in the Anglican Churches. Many of the old Masses and Propers have been adapted, some of them, notably the *Missa de Angelis* and the *Missa Marialis*, with some measure of success. The real objection, in the mind of the writer, is not how well Gregorian may adapt itself to English diction, but how the laity of the present day, in the United States, react to the introduction of ancient forms, which many believe have only an antiquarian value. While, in some instances, congregations may sing the old plain song melodies with effect and zeal, it is only in the seminaries and religious houses that the old chants are safe. The average attempt of an untrained but well-meaning congregation to struggle through the *Missa de Angelis* is amusing, were it not for the well-meant piety involved in the artistic atrocity.

The drift towards Plain Song in many parishes indicates a desire for music that expresses better the spirit of devotion than does, in the minds of many observers, the more ornate concerted style. No doubt this tendency to Plain Song is due also to a desire to bring the music of the Mass down to the people, in order that the congregation may take an active part in the offering of the Holy Sacrifice. In original compositions the tendency towards a more strict style is in evidence. Many of the compositions of the later Arthur Custance show the influence of the contemporary German composer, Peter Griesbacher. A Cathedral Mass in A Major, by Milton Rush, had its premier performance at All Saints Cathedral, Milwaukee, on All Saints Day, 1926. The impression made on the writer, who heard it at that time, was that Mr. Rush was achieving the dignity of Russian Church

music without employing the methods of Russian composers. Mr. Rush's composition should be a model for future efforts along the line of missal composition for the Anglican Church.

Another contemporary tendency worthy of note is the adaption of Russian Church music to the services of the Church. Russian music is known to comparatively few people. Those who are familiar with its beauties, both of melody, harmony, and dramatic climaxes, are usually unstinted in its praise. At one time the Russian Church made use of the ancient Greek modes exclusively. Within the past two centuries, however, a distinctly national school of Church music has been produced. It is founded on the *alla capella* style of Palestrina. If one can imagine the Italian sweetness and grace of melody supplemented by the Slavic genius for close harmony, and multiplied part singing, the strange and sudden changes from major to minor, and the capacity for piling up dramatic climaxes, which Tschaikowsky achieves in his greater orchestral works, one has a fair conception of the modern Russian school as developed from the classic Roman ideals.

The repertoire of those of our choirs that are able to sing well in the *alla capella* style may be enriched immensely by the addition of compositions by the modern Russians. Settings of the Cherubic Hymn by Gretchaninoff, Tschaikowsky and Bortniansky, are available in English versions and make excellent offertory motets. The beautiful and dramatic setting of the one hundred third psalm, by Ippolitoff-Ivanoff, is suitable for an introit, if one does not care to use the proper introits on each Sunday and festival. There is a Credo by Gretchaninoff, consisting of an alto solo, in the form of a slightly varied monotone with a full choral background as an accompaniment, a composition of ravishing beauty. All of these have English texts suitable for use in the Anglican Mass. The Russian cathedral choir in Chicago occasionally sings the Lord's Prayer in English to a simple chant which could be used effectively in Anglican services.

One of the objections to the introduction of the Benedictus Qui Venit into its proper liturgical place in the Anglican Mass may be met by using Russian settings. In view of the fact that the Prayer of Humble Access usually separated the Sanctus and Benedictus, many composers felt perfectly free to compose the two pieces in different styles, and not infrequently in unrelated keys. With the prayer advanced to a later point in the service, the Benedictus, if used, frequently gives the effect of an intrusion, and in some instances of a musical anti-climax. On these grounds many clergy and choir directors leave it out altogether, even though justification for its use on liturgical grounds may readily be found. In the Russian Liturgy, Sanctus and Benedictus constitute one composition, the musical climax coming at the conclusion. By adapting some of these to English texts the artistic objection now felt might be obviated.

The effort to popularize Plain Song, and the tendency towards a stricter type of figured music, have undoubtedly for their starting point the ideal of congregational singing for the Mass. If the Lord's own service is to be regarded as the main service of the day, and a non-communicating attendance is the desideratum, there is no question that the music should be largely congregational. This is true to a certain extent, even though the ideal of a non-communicating congregation is not generally possible at present. There is comparatively little music available for the Anglican Mass that is artistically satisfying, and at the same time suitable for congregational use. The problem facing the Church composer of the present seems to be to provide just this kind of music, and at the same time to maintain the integrity of the Mass as a musical unit. By delegating the singing of the propers, as well as a suitable offertory motet, to the select choir, and allowing the ordinary to be sung by the congregation to simple figured music, one would, with the addition of hymns at suitable places, develop a High Mass that would make use of all the traditional ma-



terial, and at the same time allow the congregation to assume a just share in the service. Composition of such Church music with this end in view should be the aim of the musician who wishes to make a valuable contribution to the musical equipment of the Churches of the Anglican Communion.

## THE DIALECTIC OF HUMANISM

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The stirring call of the humanists of today is meant to rouse a rebellion, to change a dynasty. We are to throw off the yoke of all outward tyrants and absentee rulers. Whether they rule us from below—the blind forces of nature which would reduce us and the whole kingdom to a serfdom of monotonous value, or non-value—or whether they rule us from above, by idle, baseless caprice waving irresistible sceptre-wands meant to be followed by the bowed, unquestioning acquiescence of a hushed, cowed populace of automatons—the absentee tyrants must go. We are to revoke our old allegiances, write declarations of independence from them. And then we are to set up, not a reign of anarchy, but the rule of inner control. "The king is dead" must be followed immediately by the cry, "Long live the king."

Such is the movement of thought. And that is significant, for thought moves. By this we do not mean that thought has in itself any Hegelian energy to unfold itself. But human reflection upon a problem or position advances, rolls forward through stages which unfold out of one another by a kind of inner dialectic, returning on itself and yet rolling onward, much as the smoke from a locomotive rolls outward from itself and returns by the same force which drove it away. Humanism today, is it not a part of the restless movement of human thinking? Ought we not to expect that the characteristic movement of unfolding thought, this rolling upon itself while it advances, reappears in this case in a dialectic of which humanism is only one arc, a graceful curve whose completion can be forecast by the recognition of its inner formula? That such is the case is the writer's conviction.

Here history helps us. For humanism is not a new revolt;

men have rebelled before. The golden age of Greece was forged from the precious metal of new confidence in humanity's power. When the outward-turned vision of the Ionian thinkers and of Heraclitus and Empedocles and Democritus was replaced by the subjectivity of the Sophists, a picture of man in the center of the cosmos was giving by Protagoras and his ilk, and man became the measure of all things. Socrates transformed the Sophist doctrine from the instability of sense perceptions to the permanence of conceptions whose meanings stay fixed, but he left the central vision unchanged, that man is at the center of the cosmos. Humanism was already complete in Socrates. As we shall see, it was ready to pass beyond itself, even in Socrates' own thinking. In Plato the dialectic proceeds to develop the germs of the disintegration of humanism, for he flings his Ideas into heaven and bids them stay upon a distant star, there to endure serenely oblivious to man and his needs. Yet his doctrine of reminiscence still preserves the humanistic thought that the light is within men, that the word is nigh them, even in their own hearts. Aristotle disliked the swing toward externality in his teacher's thought although it is doubtful if Plato himself asserted the separate transcendent character of his Ideas. At any rate, Aristotle saw the outward tendency of the teaching, completed the circle within his own thinking, and reasserted the inwardness of man's interest—inward within man's own self as he experiences the drawing power of his own ideals and lives an ordered, well-balanced life, but inward also in relation to the things of nature, for within the inner bosom of each thing is to be found its essence, its true significance. Yet here in Aristotle's reclamation of outer nature as an object of interest the dialectic of humanism is already passing into the outer arc of nature, a development which did not actually take place until the Middle Ages had re-discovered this master of those who know and found his thought leading them beyond, into natural science and a world of non-human objects.

Parallel to the dialectic swing of interest during the classical period from nature, through man, and back to nature again—a swing which is today returning upon itself in the present humanistic revolt against the naturalistic philosophy—is to be found a movement from theocratic tyranny to subjective control and on into a recognition of “a beyond that is within.” Thus in the parallel roll of the smoke there is the same return of thought upon itself. The gods of the Homeric myths, themselves objectifications of human traits, as Nietzsche has so finely shown, became separated from their human creators but, in their exalted independence, never tyrannized oppressively the post-Homeric Greeks. However, Olympus spread as a banquet table for the gods left men to return within themselves for religious nourishment, in mysteries and consciously man-made cults. In Socrates the humanistic counsel, Know thyself, had its purest expression. Such knowledge was the greatest good. It would lead into all truth. Yet Socrates’ own counsel led him beyond himself. For when he knew himself he found that his life seemed to go down into a deeper life, the whispering from which echoed within him as his *dæmon* or guiding spirit. This knowledge from within yet apparently from beyond was the beginning once more of the objectification and separation of sovereign authority from the inner self. In Plato it became the supreme good, yet was to be obtained by mystical contemplation and world-flight. Man lost his individual value except as he participated in the divine Ideas. Aristotle continued the widening arc by giving to man only a borrowed spark of divine reason, which returned at death to its source. Stoic and Epicurean teaching developed the move toward theocratic control by thoughts of a cosmic Reason which settled man’s destiny or even by thoughts of a matter which was also Reason itself. The return is complete in Plotinus and his ineffable One, of which all things are the mere overflow.

The unfolding of Medieval thought shows, in its large out-

lines, a continuance of the same dialectic movement, and at one portion of the rolling circle Renaissance Humanism appears. The Roman church as an institution had taken up the Platonic thought of a supreme super-earthly order. Augustine, from Neo-Platonic influences, had encountered a God august, austere, whose decrees were final. Erigena had furthered the same development and a modified Platonic outlook became the heritage of Roman Catholic Europe. But the principle of external authority which rose to such heights finally toppled of its own weight and fell, as the crest of a too-ambitious wave breaks and falls into the trough. At this phase of the cycle, humanism, Erasmus, Colet, More appear. The significant thing is that the thoughts which brought the downfall of Medieval authority were not alien importations from another culture, but the consequences of the unfolding of the inner meaning of Medieval Platonism. The rise of Aristotle was more than the result of contact with Arabian culture; the world had lived through and beyond Plato and was ready for Aristotle. Nothing else can account for his phenomenal rise in European thought. The development of the Medieval culture recapitulated the development of the individuals of the golden age of Greece. And Aristotle was submerged by nominalism which grew directly out of Aristotle's own thought.

The Renaissance was characterized by the enthusiastic, the triumphant reassertion of the dignity of man. The study of the humanities, the products of human minds and human skill, replaced the study of the divinities, the revelations of super-human thoughts. Man was again upon the throne. Human reason now illuminated man where revelation had glowed so brightly that it had burned into ashes.

On the side of religion, the swing from a transcendent, supernatural authority to an immanent reason appeared in the Renaissance humanists. But the fuller waking of the same trend of thought led the Reformers to pass on beyond the humanists in much the same way as Socrates, by living into

his dictum, lived into an experience of inner illumination. The priesthood of all believers, the justification of men directly by faith, these were the discoveries that lay next beyond the gentle humanism of Erasmus. Protestantism, like democracy, represents the outgrowth, the continuation of that dialectic movement of which humanism was a portion, an arc of the circle. A lesser portion of the same swing was the evolution of Anabaptist and mystical movements. Yet all too quickly the inner guidance of the early reformers was replaced among Protestants by objective standards, of which the Bible was chief. Protestant bibliolatry is only the counterpart of Roman ecclesiolatry. Against such the present-day humanists rebel, because they have grown up through, and beyond, such external standards of guidance and control.

On the side of natural science we have seen that Aristotle's thought contained the seeds of interest in the external world for its own sake. Under cover of abstruse disputes, thought passed from Thomas Aquinas' *quidditas* into John Duns Scotus' *haecceitas*. It is out of just such transitions of thought that the science of Roger Bacon and Copernicus, Kepler and Newton grew. And with the expansion of natural science, man was crowded farther and farther from the center of the universe. The story of the decentralization of man by the developments of the philosophy of natural science has been frequently told. Copernicus and astronomy began it, Descartes and mechanism continued it, Woehler and chemistry broke down the uniqueness of man's body-substance, Darwin and biology did the same for man as an animal species, genetic psychology has continued the de-centralization of man's mental life. The finger of shame is pointed at man, saying, You are a Nothing-But, you are the mere play-ball of natural forces which drive you, willy-nilly, hither and yon. You have no more intrinsic importance than a squeak in the cosmic machine.

Against this submergence of man by the Nothing-But philosophy of naturalism and by the religious compulsions of



an external God and a supra-mundane heaven, our present-day humanism has arisen as a protest. The humanistic protest is not an alien, a stranger to these positions; it is their continuance as thought moves through a position until it is beyond it. For man's study of the natural sciences has moved from the outer circles of astronomy, farthest from man, has progressively narrowed inward upon man himself, until now we are in the era of psychological and sociological advance. Yet such scientific development has been accompanied by a tendency to interpret newly-explored fields in terms of the processes and laws of the earlier fields of exploration. Physics has leaned back upon mathematics, chemistry upon physics, physiology upon chemistry, and, in these days, psychology upon physiology. But the time comes when men at last refuse to be content forever to reduce the near-to-man into some farther-from-man. The pent-up need of recognition of man in his own right will finally flood into some souls and humanism is upon us, evolved out of the very needs of men's thoughts as they pass through the dialectic. Our own pragmatisms and instrumentalisms and religions of humanity are a normal part of the movement through which human minds may, and do, pass in interpretations of ultimate authority.

Now if it is clear that the humanist position is an arc of a moving order of thought whose characteristic cycles can be traced in the history of the past, it becomes reasonable to expect that some projection of the possible future curve of thought can be made. Here the outer facts of historic developments can coöperate with reflection upon the inner content of humanism to lead us to a judgment. For just when the humanist is playing the part of Jehovah, ready to bring us up out of a horrible pit, out of the miry clay, ready to set our feet upon a rock and establish our goings, ready to put a new song into our mouths, even praises unto humanity, he is pretty sure to find that humanity has, in its very depths, elements of experience which lead out, in William James' words, into a divine MORE. Just when he is seizing the inner

absolute of classical standards of good taste and ordering his life by a strict regimen of balance and harmony, these inner standards are discovered to be a portion of a divine Life, a subliminal sea, an infinite ocean which laps the shores of time and finite consciousness. His strict adherence to the counsel of Socrates, *Know thyself*, leads him into the richer experience of Augustine and the mystics, *When I know myself, I know Thee*. It is no mere chance that leads some humanists, like Lippman, to deal with great charity toward the mystics, as if they see in them fellow-followers of the Absolute. For there is a profound kinship between these two groups who peer within themselves and go to their inward depths for the seat of their authority and the guidance of their lives. The dialectic of thought leads on from humanism into mysticism and historical developments have already exemplified it. Religious leaders need not fear that this development in modern thought will be a permanent enemy of religion. Rather is it to be expected that the old husks of a dead faith will be shaken off by humanist-minded men and a newer, profounder religious life be set free by the flail of criticism.

But thought has never yet stayed permanently at the mystical level where subject and object melt nearly into one. Quickly the separation of subject and object is made and men draw apart from their object of worship until soon He is once more away in some Platonic or Mohammedan heaven, thundering edicts at abject serfs, and the separation has to be overcome. The beyond that is within passes over into the within that is beyond, and it must needs be brought back again. Between transcendent separation and immanent divinity religious thought is continually oscillating. To encompass the dialectic within oneself requires an effort that great souls have manfully made. For Qoheleth seems to be right when he concludes that the Forever is set in our hearts. Hence a Christian writer presents this paradox: *Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure.*

## THE VISION OF REVELATION IV-V

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In this vision, there are two difficulties at least which have been generally noticed by scholars, and which have been explained away in various ways. The first lies in the presence of iv, 4, in the text at all. The second lies in the words *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσερα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθέν*. I think that it can be shown that the first difficulty does not exist when the vision is properly understood, and that the second can easily be cleared up by a little change in the text.

But before we proceed to the examination of the text, there are just a few things which require to be said. The first is that we are dealing with a vision, a real vision, and therefore we have no right to expect strict logical consistency. Even though this book may be modelled, to a very great extent, upon other apocalyptic writings, yet we must not forget the element of originality in it nor the fact that a vision lies behind it. Strange things happen in dreams, and we have no warrant for criticising the contents of a dream because they do not present that consistency which they would if the details were deliberately worked up. The second thing to remember is that, when a man attempts to interpret to a second person what he has seen in a vision, he is almost bound to bring in some kind of order and regularity. He looks back upon his vision, and sees order where before there was none, and remembers the presence of details which were obscure when the vision was actually received. Some details take upon themselves a new importance, whereas others lose their claim to an outstanding place. The third thing to remember is that the contents of the vision need not always be related in the same order or given exactly the same em-

phasis. You cannot say that the order ACB is wrong in one account, just because the order in every other account is ABC. You have to use imagination for the interpretation of a vision as well as logic and a ruler. The fourth thing is that many of the difficulties that scholars have seen in this particular vision would have vanished, if they had once tried to draw the picture which the seer saw.

In this vision then the seer sees a throne in heaven, and God sitting upon the throne. The form of God is not visible, and all anthropomorphic details are avoided with wonderful skill. All that can be seen are various lights flashing round the throne, unlike any lights that the seer has ever seen before. But he tries to interpret as best he can what cannot, by its very nature, be interpreted. He endeavours to picture the unknown in terms of the known, and compares those flashing lights to the color of jasper and sardius. Then he sees round the throne twenty-four other thrones with twenty-four elders sitting upon them, clothed in white and with crowns of gold upon their heads. Out of the throne there proceed flashes of lightning and the sounds of thunder. Before the throne can be discovered seven lamps burning with fire, and a glassy sea. Then we are given the account of the four living creatures.

We must now examine the difficulties already mentioned. The first is in iv, 4. Johannes Weiss seems to have been the first to put his finger on this (*Die Offenbarung*, p. 54). To him, this verse creates difficulty for two reasons. First, it interrupts the description of the throne, which is continued in verse 5. Second, in the vision, the representation proceeds from the throne outward, and therefore the four living creatures ought to have been mentioned before the concentric circle of elders. Weiss concludes, therefore, that this verse is due to the final editor of the Apocalypse, who put together independent Apocalypses, with additions of his own. This verse is one of those additions. Dr. R. H. Charles goes half way with Weiss and then departs from him. He

sees the difficulty, but gives another explanation. The diction of iv, 4, he says, proves that it comes from the author of the Apocalypse and not from a redactor. It is an addition by the author when fitting together the separate visions. One of the arguments he raises in support of this is the defective syntax of the verse. There are in it three accusatives, *θρόνους*, *πρεσβυτέρους* and *στεφάνους* with no verb to govern them, and the only way we can obtain a verb is by going back to verse 1, where we find *εἶδον*, but this is too far back.

To these arguments, the following objections require to be made. (1) Much stronger arguments require to be brought forward than has yet been the case, to prove that what we have here is a conflation of two separate visions. If we remember the essential vagueness and uncertainty belonging to a vision, we shall have no need for any such hypothesis, even though isolated difficulties may occur. (2) There is no reason why the seer should necessarily describe the vision of the scene in heaven from the outside to the inside, or from the inside to the outside, or indeed either way. He may relate the various details in the order that struck him when he had the vision. He may have seen the throne first, and then the elders, and it may be that not until he looked more closely did he see the four living creatures between the throne and the elders. But, however that may be, the set order from inside to outside cannot be demanded here, since in vii, 9-11, we have the order from outside to inside, first the elders and then the four living creatures, just as we have it in chapter iv. (3) The elders are a necessary part of the vision, and cannot possibly be left out (*cf.* iv, 10). (4) The difficulty of the syntax is more in favour of the authenticity of the verse than it is against it. If it were an interpolation, we should expect a sentence complete in itself. We should expect a second *εἶδον*. We conclude, therefore, that this verse is an authentic part of the original text, and that it stands in its proper place.

The second difficulty is in verse 6, *καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσερα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ*

ὑπισθεν. It will not be waste of time if a few of the theories regarding this verse are mentioned briefly. We will examine first of all the theories which are based upon the assumption that what we have here is the correct text.

Hengstenberg, C. A. Scott and others say that the four living creatures were supporting the throne, one of them on the middle of each side, and so all of them round it. Nearly allied to this theory is that advocated by Eichhorn, Ewald and Gunkel, that the four living creatures lay with the lower part of the body supporting the throne, and with the upper part of the body projecting from it. Both of these views are impossible for two reasons: first, because of *ἔκειτο* in verse 2, which is tantamount to saying that the throne stood without support, and, secondly, because the living creatures are able to prostrate themselves before the throne or the Lamb (*cf.* v, 8, and xix, 4), and also to move independently (*cf.* xv, 7).

Züllig, de Wette, Düsterdieck, Bousset, Kliefoth, Alford, Moffatt, Swete and Beckwith say much the same thing in much the same words. The creatures stood round the throne (*κύκλω*), one in the middle of each side (*ἐν μέσῳ*). Milligan and Vincent (*Word Studies*, ii, 481) say that one living creature stood at each corner, "at the extremities of two diameters passing through the center of the round throne." It is sufficient criticism of this last theory to say that the Greek simply cannot mean any such thing.

We reach, then, the conclusion, that the Greek we have here is quite impossible. We come now to the theories which advocate a change in the text.

(1) Bruston (according to Moffatt, *Expos. Gk. Test.* ad loc.) thinks that what we have here is a mistranslation of *בְּתוֹךְ הַכִּסֵּא*, which should mean, "in the midst was a throne." This has to be rejected on two grounds. First, there is no evidence for the theory that what we have in this chapter is the translation of a Hebrew original. Secondly, even if there were such an original, the reconstruction would not be satisfactory. For it would be a definition of the throne



relative to the position of the elders, but we have already had the definition of the elders relative to the position of the throne. The throne also is central in the mind of the seer (*cf.* iv, 1). It would be a case of repetition mixed with irreverence.

(2) Ewald conjectured that the correct text might be *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου*, which would fit the picture in the mind of the seer, if it meant between the throne and the elders. Then the seer would have in mind the Hebrew construction *בְּ . . . בְּ*. The difficulty is that in the LXX, *בְּ . . . בְּ* is generally translated not by *ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ*, but by *ἀνὰ μέσον . . . ἀνὰ μέσον*. If it means, "in the centre of the whole picture, surrounded by the circle of elders," then it is a most unnatural way of saying it. In any case, it is a big change.

(3) Some versions miss out *καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου*, and Bousset suggests that this may be a gloss. But even if it is, *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου* remains, and it is just this phrase which creates the whole difficulty. The Apocalypse never speaks of the living creatures standing in the midst of the throne. It is the Son of Man or the Lamb who does that (*cf.* i, 13; v, 6; vii, 17).

(4) Dr. Charles suggests that *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου* is an interpolation, added by a scribe from Ezek. i, 5, where some MSS. add *καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου*, which is perhaps taken from the Apocalypse. But, in the first place, the theory of interpolation should not be resorted to, unless all other avenues of explanation are closed. Secondly, the fact that there has been an interpolation in Ezek. i, 5, from Rev. iv, 6, even if that be the case, is no proof that the reverse process has also gone on. And thirdly, *ἐν μέσῳ* in Ezek. i, 5, stands for *הַרְיָה* and refers to the fire, and so we have no real parallel in it to Rev. iv, 6.

Thus we are forced to set forth another theory, that in place of *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου* in Rev. iv, 6, we should read *ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θρόνων*, which would refer to the thrones of the

elders. In favour of that change, the following arguments can be brought forward.

(1) It is but a small change.

(2) It gives a picture fitting the facts. We have the throne as the centre of the whole picture. Round the throne are the four living creatures. Encircling all are the twenty-four elders.

(3) The change of *τῶν θρόνων* is quite conceivable, since there are six instances of *τοῦ θρόνου* in about as many lines.

(4) There is almost certainly something wrong with the text, and yet the other theories are all faulty.

One more point needs to be examined before we can get the details of this vision complete, and that is the relation between the seven lamps of iv, 5, and the Lamb of v, 6. And I should suggest that, in the mind of the seer, they are identical. There are two reasons for this suggestion.

(1) The seven lamps are never referred to again in the Apocalypse, whereas the Lamb becomes a standing figure. Let us suppose that the seer is describing the vision just as he saw it. What he saw at first were seven lights in close proximity to the throne. And then, in accordance with a process which is common in dreams, the seven lights changed into eyes and horns. Upon closer investigation (*cf. εἶδον* in v, 6), these proved to be the eyes and horns of the Lamb.

(2) Both the seven lamps and the seven eyes are interpreted as "the seven spirits of God," which means that they have the same significance, and probably also the same essential content to the seer. And even if we cut out *ἃ εἰσιν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as do J. Weiss, Spitta and Wellhausen, it would still remain a fact that the redactor took the seven eyes and the seven lamps to represent the same fact.

Thus we have as the completed picture the throne of God in the centre, with the seven lamps which change gradually into the seven horns and eyes of the Lamb. Then the circle of the four living creatures, one on each side of the throne. Around them all is the circle of elders. Outside this last circle, facing the throne, is the glassy sea.

## THE PHARISAIC CHARACTER AND THE DATE OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH

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In spite of what some critics might have said to the contrary, the Book of Enoch seems to be the creation of Pharisaic Jews. No traces of Sadducee or Essene ideas can be detected, while, on the other hand, the authors throughout the book hold the good Pharisaic doctrine—vi: 4: "Bind ourselves by *mutual* imprecations." The expression suggests the law of annulment of oaths: no oath could be annulled if it was taken for the benefit and at the request of another person (TB *Nedarim* 65a; *Mishne Torah Shebuoth* b 7, *Nedarim* iv. 5), or if made to depend on the consent of a community of people (TB *Gittin* 36a, *Mishne Torah Shebuoth* vi. 8). Neither the Sadducees who rejected the oral law and, consequently, the annulment of oaths, nor the Essenes, who, as is well known, held stringent views on the matter of oaths, would make an allusion to the rabbinical provision of annulment of oaths.<sup>1</sup>

Hilgenfeld, Tideman, partly Drummond, suppose that the Similitudes containing the Son of Man passage are the work of a Christian or a Gnostic. However, many later Jewish writings advance the belief in a preëxistent Messiah clothed with superhuman attributes, Judge of the World. The "hidden" Messiah is one of the basic principles of Jewish mysticism. Midrashim abound in references to the same idea. PM 22: "Thou wilt raise like a "Reem": this is the Messiah the son of David who is concealed for the end of days to whom the Lord will give of His Glory." Cf. xlviii. 6: "he has been chosen and *hidden*." li. 4: "has glorified him"; PR 37: "the Lord will lift up the Messiah to the end

<sup>1</sup> For abbreviations, see note at end of the preceding article, in Vol. xii, No. 5.

of heaven and will say to him, 'Be a judge over them' . . . and all the righteous will behold him. . . ." Cf. xlix. 2: "the elect one stands before the Lord"; 4: "and he will judge"; lxix. 26: "there was great joy because the name of the Son of man was revealed to them." In the above passage in PR as well as in PK, Messiah is said to have been created from the beginning and hidden under the Throne of Glory. He is, furthermore, identified with the light created on the first day that was hidden away, stored up for the righteous who will live in the end of days. (Cf. John i: "light shines in darkness": the preëxistent Logos is the first created light.) The Messiah expiates the sins of Israel through his suffering: Zohar "wayakhel," likewise, expresses the same view: the hall of those who suffer illness, the Messiah enters there and alleviates their sufferings. . . .

Even the early Midrashim say that the name or the spirit of the Messiah is one of the seven primordial creations. As Ginzberg (*Die Haggada bei den Kirchenväter und in der Apocryphischer Literatur*, ii. 10) remarks, the rabbis substituted name ("ideal existence") or spirit for the person of the Messiah in order to guard against Christian theological views. In the pre-Christian writings, the idea of a preëxistent Messiah was a current conception. Temporarily suppressed by the early rabbis, it emerged again in later Midrashim and Cabbala.

The Messiah of the Similitudes is different from the conception of the Messiah in the New Testament. For one thing, he has no power to forgive sins. He would fain grant forgiveness to the kings who supplicate for mercy at his hands (lxii. 1), but the Lord will force them to go forth from his presence (10). In general it is asserted time and again that neither angel nor power is able to avert the doom from the wicked (lxxxviii. 6; xli. 9). Contrast Matthew ix. 2 ff.: "the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins."

The sources of the Similitudes betray strains of Babylonian and Egyptian influence. The similitudes proper show the

spirit of the Alexandrian school of allegorizers. It is likely that they come from a circle of Babylonian Jews in the Diaspora. The Babylonian Jews spread to western Asia and Egypt as attested to by many passages in Josephus discussed in *Doroth Harishonim* (by Halevi) i. 114 ff. They settled in Alexandria in large numbers and formed a colony of their own. They, Alexandro-Babylonian Jews, were looked upon as a special group even in Jerusalem where some of them settled (as inferred from *Menachoth* 100, *Joma* 66). We may assume that the writers of the Similitudes belonged to that group which was suitable to give rise to such an eclectic work as the chaps. xxxvii-lxxi, containing as they do mythological vagaries and quasi-philosophical speculations.

The calendar portion represents an early attempt at systematizing the calendar. The writer protests against the then existing method of haphazard intercalations. Cf. lxxx. 4 and Ysh. ii. 285; lxxx. 4: "in the days of *the sinners* . . . the moon shall shine more brightly than accords with her order." (Ysh. ii. 285) "When the Jews sin and do not make the necessary intercalation, the flame of the sun then reaches the moon, passes through it and obscures its light. . . ."

Many peculiarities of the Enochic calendar are found in later writings: 364 stations (lxxv. 2), 369 windows, 182 in the east, 182 in the west (*Midrash Hagadol* 23, TJ *Rosh Hashana* ii. 4, Ysh. ii. 185, EsK 16, Tadshe, etc.), 52 weeks, 364 days to the year (*Sefer Hasidim*; TB *Joma* 34; PR "Hachadosh"), names of sun and moon: lxxviii. 11; *Midrash Konen*, *Raziel* 3; 18 hours to the day: cf. the division of the hour into 1080 parts in the Jewish calendar.

Schürer and Charles think to detect in the assignment of the Dream Vision to the pre-marital life of Enoch ("before I took a wife": lxxxiii. 2) a sign of an ascetic state of mind, hence Essene proclivities. The case is, however, the reverse. The Dream Vision represents the less prophetic stage, before Enoch had intercourse with the angels, and was permitted to see the future only in a dream which is less perfect than

real prophecy. Cf. Zohar I, "Wayetze": Jacob at that time was not yet married; on this account the vision appeared to him in a dream. When, however, he returned to the holy land with the twelve tribes and the House (of Israel) was established, it is written of him "and he saw prophetic vision"; no mention is made any more of a dream. The time of "walking with God" is put in the Bible in the post-marital lifetime of Enoch.

Ch. xciii: "a law and an enclosure": the Torah and the "fence" (*Sejag Latorah*), the additional rabbinic regulations to the laws. Contrast the Zadokite work where the "builders of the wall" are derided.

Our book is, according to the above indications, in perfect conformity with the Pharisaic teachings.

#### NOTE ON THE DATE OF ENOCH

Ch. xiii: (a) This chapter contains an indication of date that has escaped the notice of the critics. The fallen angels, namely, sit at Ublesjael (= Abilene), while Enoch goes to the waters of Dan to the south of Hermon. The place of the fallen angels is between Hermon and Lebanon—hence to the north of Hermon. The purpose of Enoch's journey southward was to obtain revelation, for no revelation could be received outside of Palestine (TB *Meg.* 15). We may therefore suppose that the waters of Dan really represent the boundary line between holy and profane ground. In order to find himself on consecrated territory, Enoch had only to cross the border. He did not go any further, for he wished to be as near to the fallen angels as possible.

Indeed, the boundary line of Palestine ran across Nekubta D'Ijon (Yalkut 'Ekeb, Tos. Shebitt-3, Tj Sheb. vi, 1, Sifre "Ekeb"), which is identified by Hildesheimer (*Geographie*) with the valley Merg Aynn, near Nahr Litani Nahr Dendora, Nahr Husbani, between Abil-el-Kamh and Tell-el Kadi (= Dan) at Gisrel = Ghajar. The "waters of Dan," therefore, lie south of the boundary line, in its immediate proximity.



Now that boundary had not been reached by any Jewish potentate before Herod. The chapter, accordingly, in its present form—and, for that matter, the edition of the book—cannot be put earlier than the Herodian period.

(b) The name Ublesjael, very likely, stands for Abilene-Lysanias. That place may roughly be described as lying between Lebanon and Hermon.<sup>2</sup> Abilene-Lysanias as a standing name for the district does not go back of 14 C.E. (Schürer, i, 338, App.). Here we have the *terminus a quo* for the edition of Enoch.

Ch. lvi: "The angels will return and hurl themselves upon the Parthians." Lücke (*Einl. in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, pp. 89-144) rightly sees in the reference to the Parthians an indication that the writer knew of the Parthian invasion. The passage, we have to assume, was written after the Parthian invasion. For the verb "return" stands for a Semitic idiom signifying repeated action. Thus, the writer predicted that the Parthians would "again" invade Palestine; hence they had already invaded it once. The expectation of a Persian invasion of Palestine in the Messianic time persisted down to the Talmudic period (TB *San.* 98). The objective of the Parthians is not primarily the possession of Palestine. The "land of the elect" serves merely as a "path," a battle ground where the encounter between the two rival powers will take place. The heathen kingdoms will engage in a destructive war that will wipe them out (*cf.* Ez. 38: 21). This event forms a prelude to the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom.

Ch. lxxix. 5: A great unfruitfulness coming on "the chariots to the west." The northwest and southwest winds bring hoar-frost, snow, drought and death (*cf.* lxxv. 12-13). Hence the reference to the "uttermost" chariots; the middle wind generates prosperity.<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* PR 34: on the eve of the Sab-

<sup>2</sup> Ublesjael (especially the form in G 9, *Ublesato*) might suggest Οὐλαθα (in TJ., Tos.—Oulshata). The locality, however, of Ublesjael between Lebanon and Hermon precludes that possibility.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, verse 13. Charles' emendation of the text is, then, to be rejected.

batical Year, a west wind will go out and will destroy the seed. Men will be stricken with famine. Both sources seem by their close correspondence to go back to a common reminiscence of a severe hunger that left an indelible impression in the people's mind. Josephus (*Ant.* XV, 9, 1) put on record a terrific famine and pestilence raging in Palestine in the 13th and 14th years of Herod's reign. The seed perished in the ground. The reference in PR to the year preceding the year of Release is in conformity with the actual facts. The 14th year of Herod's reign (25-24 B.C.E.) was either a Sabbatical Year, the 13th year being thus a pre-sabbatical year; or the 14th year itself was a pre-sabbatical year (see Schürer, I, 11). The situation was aggravated by the Sabbatical Year following the famine.

Ch. xci: "The house of the Great King"—possibly the Herodian Temple is meant here. From the destruction of the first temple to the building of the "House of the Great King" the author of the Apocalypse counts two weeks. A week consists, evidently, of seven generations. Enoch is the seventh in the first week. From creation to David (or Solomon, if we do not count Abraham twice) the seven generations scheme holds good.<sup>4</sup> The only discrepancy occurs in the 6th week, which embraces 16 generations. The apocalyptic writer, however, might have counted 14 generations to that period, in the manner of Matthew i. 6 ff. In this way he would still be in line with the seven generations scheme. Or else the original version might have divided that period into two weeks, the first week closing with Elijah's translation (a trace of the original arrangement is perhaps seen in the allusion to Elijah's translation in xciii. 8). It should be noted that the Weeks Apocalypse was freely handled by the editor, who dislocated a part of it.

Indeed, Matthew i counts 14 generations from the Babylonian Captivity to the beginning of C.E. As I have shown

<sup>4</sup> Adam—Enoch, Enoch—Eber, Eber—Abraham, Abraham—Moses. From Abraham to David = 14 generations.

elsewhere,<sup>8</sup> Matthew does not stand alone in his calculations. The division of history into periods, with Abraham, David, the Exile as the turning points in the system, is a favorite subject with the Midrashim. The apocalyptic writers were prone to carry on the calculations farther, in order to mark thereby the beginning of the Messianic age. Matthew reflects the tendency of the times. The interval from David (the height of glory) to the Exile is the same as that from the Exile to the Reconstruction. The writer of the Weeks Apocalypse lived in the end of the 8th week and thought that the righteous Judgment (xciii. 14) was close at hand. The magnificent Herodian Temple might have impressed him as marking the beginning of a new epoch in history—an introduction to the future order of things.

The cumulative force of the above evidence tells in favor of a late date for the greater part of Enoch, or, at least, for the final redaction of the book. The *terminus a quo* for the redaction is 14 C.E.

<sup>8</sup> In an article to be printed shortly in *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

## A READING COURSE ON THE JOHANNINE LITERATURE

By CHARLES B. HEDRICK Berkeley Divinity School

### BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- Bacon, B. W., *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, 1918.
- \*Beckwith, I. T., *The Apocalypse of John*, 1919.
- \*Bernard, J. H., *The Gospel according to St. John* (in the International Critical Commentary), 2 vols., 1929.
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- Hügel, F. von, *John, The Gospel of St.* (in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th edition, Vol. 13, cited as EBr). 1929.
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- Lightfoot, J. B., *Biblical Essays*, 1893.
- \*MacGregor, G. H. C., *The Gospel of John* (in the Moffatt New Testament Commentary), 1928.
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- Streeter, B. H., *The Four Gospels*, 1925.
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- Watkins, H. W., *Modern Criticism and the Fourth Gospel* (Bampton Lectures), 1890.
- \*Westcott, B. F., *The Gospel according to St. John*, 1882.

#### TOPICS AND READING

(Note.—Since the same material is often relevant to more than one topic the references are sometimes allowed to overlap. In general the relationship is indicated by cross references.)

##### *General Topics*

1. The term "Johannine Literature": The age-long opinion which it enshrines. History of the early circulation and recognition of the several books. The rise of the Johannine tradition. (See also topic 22.)

Beckwith, 337-343. Charles, I, xcvi-ciii. Carpenter, 208-211. Nolloth, 43-55. Brooke, Com., lii-lxii.

2. The Asian Johns: Number and identity of the Johns in Asia. Does Papias witness to the existence of a second John, the "Presbyter"? Nature and weight of the alleged evidence for the early martyrdom of the Apostle John and therefore for his never having lived in Asia—in which case how is the Johannine tradition to be accounted for? Place of prologues and epilogues in this process.

Drummond, 194-235. Schmiedel, 170-178. Moffatt, 596-619. Gardner, 74. Bacon, 101-154. Beckwith, 362-393. Charles, I, xlv-l. Stanton, III, 112-132. Streeter, 433-436. Nolloth, 58-62. Carpenter, 40-43; 208-217. MacGregor, l-lxii. Bernard, I, xxxvii-lv.

3. A Johannine "School"? Difficulty of assigning all the Johannine literature to the same author. Recognized even in third century criticism (Dionysius of Alexandria). Various modern critical proposals for the grouping and distribution of the Johannine writings. Possibility of a third John (the "Seer" of Revelation) distinct from both Apostle and Presbyter, also of pseudonymity (Revelation), or of completely lost identity (Gospel and Epistles). (See also topics 12, 22-24, 30.)

Schmiedel, 178-212; 227-231. Moffatt, 475 f.; 499-503; 513 f.; 614. Gardner, 38-45. Bacon (see under topic 2. Add 157-269). Beckwith, 353-362. Charles, I, xxix-xliv. Stanton, III, 77-109. Bernard, I, lxviii-lxxi. Streeter, 436-481. Nolloth, 96-110. Carpenter, 43-48; 208-227; 250-253. MacGregor, lxii-lxviii.

#### *Topics on the Revelation of John*

4. Apocalyptic Literature: The amount, nature, origin, and aims of the extant specimens of this literature. Its importance for the right understanding of the Revelation of John.

Beckwith, 166-197. Carpenter, 3-24.



5. The historical background of the Book of Revelation: The religious and political situation to which it must be referred. Date and place of writing.

Moffatt, 503-508. Bacon, 173 f. Beckwith, 197-208. Carpenter, 30-35. Charles, I, xci-xcvii.

6. The purpose of Revelation.

Moffatt, 508 f. Beckwith, 208-216. Charles, I, ciii f.

7. The character of the book: Relation to Jewish apocalyptic; points of resemblance and difference. Relation of apocalyptic to prophecy and to the question of prophetic psychology. Mental states and processes involved in the composition of Revelation. (See also topic 8.)

Beckwith, 239-255; 291-306. Charles, I, lxii-lxxxvi; civ-cix. Carpenter, 25-61.

8. The unity of Revelation: The various theories as to, with attempts at a critical analysis. What constitutes unity in such a work? The employment of older materials; nature and extent of such employment. Structure and plan of the work as we have it. Has it suffered from editorial bungling? (See also topic 10.)

Beckwith, 216-239. Charles, I, xxiii-xxviii; lvi-lxi; lxxxvii-xci.

9. Methods of interpreting Revelation: The various schools past and present.

Beckwith 318-336. Charles, I, clxxxiii-clxxxvii.

10. Contents and meaning of Revelation: Outline and brief exposition.

Beckwith, 255-291. Carpenter, 62-186.

11. The theology of Revelation.

Westcott, lxxxiv-lxxxvii. Beckwith, 310-317. Charles, I, cix-cxvii.

12. The authorship of Revelation. (See also topics 1-3.) A closer examination of the question in the light of the topics preceding.

Scott, 87 f. Moffatt, 509-514. Gardner, 39-41. Bacon, 157-183. Beckwith, 343-362. Charles, I, xxi-xxiii; xliii f.; l-lv. Carpenter, 35-48. Bernard, I, lxiv-lxviii.

13. The elements of permanent religious value in Revelation: its message for every age.

Beckwith, 306-310. Charles, I, xv. Carpenter, I f.; 184-186.

*Topics on the Fourth Gospel*

Topics leading to a judgment on the *nature* of the work: Sources and Influences; Theology; etc.

14. Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics.

Westcott, lxxvii-lxxxiv. Drummond, 7-20. Sanday, 142-169; 216-226. Scott, 29-45. Schmiedel, 9-139. Moffatt, 533-537. Gardner, 66 f. Bacon, 356-384. Stanton, III, 209-276. Streeter, 393-426. Nolloth, 111-171. Charnwood (see under topic 19). Carpenter, 227-241; 254. MacGregor, x-xx. Bernard, I, xciv-cxxxvi.

15. Relation of the Fourth Gospel to St. Paul and Paulinism.

Sanday, 208-216. Scott, 46-53. Gardner, 127 ff. Bacon, 281-300. Stanton, III, 148. Carpenter, 191. Bernard, I, cxxxvi-cxxxviii.

16. Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha; acquaintance with Palestine and Palestinian Judaism. (See also topics 20 and 28.)

Westcott, lxvi-lxix. Sanday, 186-189. Scott, 196 f. Stanton, III, 149-160. Nolloth, 172-178. Carpenter, 256-270. Bernard, I, lxxviii-lxxxiii; cxlvii-clvi; cxxxix.

17. Relation to Philo and Alexandrian Judaism.

Sanday, 185-200. Scott, 53-63. Gardner, 58 f. Bacon, 282. Stanton, III, 161-182. Nolloth, 178-187. Carpenter, 296-303. Bernard, I, xciii f.; cxxxix-cxli.

18. Relation to contemporary Hellenistic thought and piety; to Gnosticism. (See also topic 29.)

Scott, 86-103. Gardner, 189-194. Stanton, III, 187-208. Strachan, 116-151. Charnwood, 187-238. Carpenter, 270-287.

19. The theology of the Gospel, especially its teaching as to the Person and Work of Christ: the Logos doctrine and the

question of the relation of the prologue to the rest of the book. The terms Life, Light, etc. The Holy Spirit. The Church, Sacraments, Ministry, etc. (See also topics 14-18.)

Westcott, xlii-1; lxix-lxxi; lxxxiv-lxxxviii. Sanday, 200-235. Scott, 145-352. Inge in CBE, 251-288. Moffatt, 525-530. Gardner, 124-318. Nolloth, 187-228. Strachan, 241-319. Carpenter, 290-455. MacGregor, xxxiv-xxxix. Bernard, I, cxxii-clxxxvi.

20. Occasion and purpose of the Fourth Gospel: The contemporary interests and issues reflected in the book. A variety of purposes?

Westcott, xxxv-xlii. Scott, 1-28; 65-144. Moffatt, 530-532. Bacon, 273-300. Carpenter, 256-289. Nolloth, 10-24. Strachan, 192-224. MacGregor, xxvi-xxxiv.

#### *The Character of the Fourth Gospel*

21. The nature of the work as gathered from the studies preceding: Is it history, allegory, drama, product of "mystic vision"—or what? The psychological problem involved.

Westcott, l-lxvi; lxxi-lxxvii. Drummond, 28-66; 375-379. Sanday, 109-141; 169-184; 205-207. (See also under topic 14.) Scott, 1-28; 353-376. Schmiedel, 138 f. Brooke in CBE, 291-398. Moffatt, 561-563. Gardner, 52-123. Bacon, 332-355; 385-439. Streeter, 363-392. Strachan, all, but especially 11-83, 152-191, 225-240. Nolloth, 169 ff.; 197 ff. Carpenter, 242-253; 359 f. Von Hügel in EBr, 95-97. MacGregor in JBL, 150-159. Bernard, I, lxxxiii-xciii; clxxvi-clxxxvi.

#### *The Problem of the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*

(See also topics 1-3, 12, 25, 30)

22. The case for the tradition: The author was John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee.

Westcott, v-xxxii. Lightfoot, 1-198. Drummond, 72-514. Sanday, 74-256. Stanton, I, 162-277. Nolloth, 25-95.

23. The case against the tradition: Alternative hypotheses. Identity of the Beloved Disciple in such cases.

Scott, 57, 144, 374. Schmiedel, 1-203. Moffatt, 566-577. Gardner, 53-55. Bacon, 1-471; 528-536.

24. Mediating positions: Hypotheses assigning to the Apostle (or at least to an eye-witness) a partial or an indirect share in the creation of the book. The Beloved Disciple again. (See also topic 25.)

Sanday, 16-20. Gardner, 42, 67-75, 86 f. Stanton, III, 133-146; 277-288. Garvie, all, but especially 202-258. Streeter (see topic 3. Add 430-433). Nolloth, 83-95 (a criticism). Charnwood, 1-59. MacGregor, xlv-lxviii. Bernard, I, lxiv; lxviii-lxxi; lxxviii-xciv.

25. The unity of the work: Partition theories. Possible dislocations and disarrangements. Structure and plan of the book as we have it. (See also topic 24.)

Sanday, 20-25. Scott, 25. Moffatt, 550-563. Gardner, 53. Bacon, 472-527. Stanton, III, 17-76. Strachan, 84-115. Carpenter, 219-227. MacGregor, xxxix-xliv. Bernard, I, xvi-xxxiv.

26. The time and place of writing.

Westcott, xl. Scott, 79. Stanton, III, 147. Streeter, 456-461. Carpenter, 195-202; 207. MacGregor, lxii f. Bernard, I, lxxvi-lxxviii.

27. The abiding value of the Fourth Gospel: Its contribution to religion.

Scott, 371-376. Schmiedel, 233-258. Gardner, 319-358. Nolloth, 228-262.

#### *Special Problems*

28. The original language of the Fourth Gospel: Was it Aramaic?

Burney, all. Garvie, 250-258. Torrey in HTR, 305-344. Burrows in JBL, 95-139.

29. The relation of the Gospel to the Hermetic writings? to Mandæan thought?

Carpenter, 287-289. Bernard, I, cxli. Kraeling in JBL, 140-149.

*The Johannine Epistles*

30. The authorship of the Epistles. (See also topics 1-3, 12, 22-24.)

Scott, 88; 94. Schmiedel, 208-210; 215-217. Moffatt, 479-481; 587-595. Brooke, Com., i-xxvii; lxxiii-lxxix. Gardner, 39 f.; 42 ff. Streeter, 458-461. Carpenter, viii; 456-458. Bernard, I, lx-lxiv.

31. Occasion and purpose of the three Epistles respectively. Dates. Their contents and religious teaching.

Schmiedel, 204-217. (See also under topic 27.) Brooke, Com., xxvii-xxxiii; xxxviii-lii; lxxix-xc. Moffatt, 475-478; 481 f.; 583-589; 593.

*The History of Johannine Criticism*

32. The history of Johannine criticism, including the present position of the subject.

Watkins, 169-353. Drummond, 67-71. Sanday, 1-73. Stanton, III, 1-16. Nolloth, 1-10.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda, und die Quellen des Rahmens der Königsbücher.* By Joachim Begrich. Tübingen: Mohr, 1929, pp. vi + 214. M. 15.

This is an amazingly laborious piece of work in which the author studies the subjects indicated in the title from every point of view, leaving nothing which can be of bearing unconsidered. He reaches the opinion that the general impression of unreliability in the synchronisms is not to be regarded as substantiated; that we have hitherto lacked a key to the correct interpretation of them; and in the concluding and major part of the book he attempts to supply such a key. He finds five systems of chronology lying back of the contents of the Book of Kings and attempts to weave them into a coherent scheme. In this he has not, perhaps, entirely succeeded. Such a measure of success was hardly to be anticipated. But we think he has carried the investigation to a point considerably beyond any heretofore reached. At the end of the book in a series of tables he carries the chronology along year by year as it appears in the five systems; the only thing we would desire in addition is that he had seen fit to supply a simple summary of this elaborate scheme, which would have sufficed for handy reference.

F. H. HALLOCK.

*Das Privilegrecht Jahves.* By Friedrich Horst. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1930, pp. iv + 124. R.M. 9.50.

Necessarily an area wider than that indicated in the title of the book is covered, and it is in these broader matters that the majority of readers will be most interested. The general view of the central portion of Deuteronomy is one of refreshing sanity, altogether free from the eccentricities of much recent criticism. A considerable portion of the Deuteronomic law



regarding sacrifice and the "rights of Jahweh" is closely related to that which had appeared in earlier sources; large sections of the code may have originated in the North and have been brought up to date in 621 by adding the central sanctuary requirement. On the other hand, subsequent revision and supplementing is not wholly excluded; some portions seem obviously to require later dating. The entire study shows that the question of Deuteronomy has not yet been completely and satisfactorily answered. Rather slight use has been made of Assyrian parallels, and in some places a fuller use of the LXX might have helped towards clearing up textual difficulties.

F. H. HALLOCK.

*Der Hebräische Urrhythmus (Beiheft zur Z.A.T.W. No. 52).* By Ignaz Gabor (Budapest). Giessen: V. Alfred Töpelmann, 1929, pp. 31. Mk. 1.80.

This little pamphlet possesses an importance far out of proportion to its size. Long ago Sievers, by demonstrating the accentual character of Hebrew verse, put into the hands of Old Testament criticism an instrument which has been applied very freely in the correction of the text, but with distinctly varying degrees of plausibility in its results. Ignaz Gabor, by proving that alliteration is not an ornament but of the very bone and flesh of ancient Hebrew poetry, has added a valuable auxiliary and in some cases corrective to the metrical criticism of the Biblical text.

First our author, supporting his case at every step by abundant examples, traces this usage through alliterative tags and proverbial expressions to its full development as a recognized poetic device. He shows that in the early Hebrew alliteration is as vitally important and is employed in essentially the same manner as the stem-rimes of ancient German, Hungarian and English verse. The commonest rime-scheme is the two against one typified in the *Beowulf* and the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, though the Hebrews used also more intricate forms, as for example in the Song of Deborah. These alliterative rime-schemes occasionally show the falsity of

textual emendations which have been accepted on the basis of Sievers' metrical theories.

But this demonstrated importance of alliteration faces us with a new problem. In all other alliterative poetry the metrical ictus, the word accent and the stem-rime fall upon the same syllable. Now if the Massoretic accents are followed the verse must be normally anapestic in form, and this makes the stem-rimes fall invariably in the unaccented part of the measure. This leads our author to the conclusion that originally Hebrew, like Hungarian and perhaps early Latin, was accented on the first radical syllable of each word. The shift of the tone to the final syllable he attributes partly to internal causes (such as the gradual strengthening of the secondary accent on words lengthened by suffixes), partly to foreign influences. In many cases *metheg* represents a survival of the original accent.

This latter section is not quite so well worked out as the first. There are numerous instances, some quoted by our author himself, in which the proposed change would bring the word-accent on a character pointed with a *shewa*, a condition involving at least some measure of discussion, but none is given. The massoretic vocalisation is treated as if it represented a pronunciation at some time used in living speech, though in view of its liturgical origin this is highly unlikely. A further continuation of these studies should, however, be a great help in getting behind the massoretic to the living pronunciation of Hebrew. Lastly the principle that it is an æsthetic necessity for the stem-rime to come on the tone syllable is a point that should not be assumed, but argued. There are languages, such as French and Japanese, which have no word-accent whatever but none the less make great use both of alliteration and assonance. There can, however, be no doubt that the line of enquiry here opened should produce very fruitful results both for the philologist and the critic.

MARSHALL M. DAY.

*The Purpose of Jesus in the First Three Gospels.* By Campbell N. Moody. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930, pp. 159.

In these Bruce Lectures of 1929, Dr. Moody, asserting and deploring the current tendency among New Testament scholars to write negatively and to belittle and misrepresent Jesus, undertakes to set these errors right. Jesus' public teaching, as far as it is recorded (and that is not very far), is a stern call to repentance and a tantalizingly meagre account of the Kingdom of God. With inquirers and disciples he says little about spiritual power to be received from God, but expects a great faith in God's power, and above all a complete loyalty to himself. "For every word that He speaks about the Father, He speaks two about Himself." The lofty demands of the Sermon on the Mount are impossible except for those empowered by himself. "Certain it is that He taught men to regard attachment to Himself as the one thing needful for salvation." His death he viewed as a covenant sacrifice, and a ransom in place of many; and at the Last Supper he instituted a means of sharing in the benefits of his death. The New Testament Epistles are merely repeating Jesus' own message when they tell us that by union with Christ we are saved. For all who dispute any of these and similar views, Dr. Moody has little but hard words. He will, it is to be hoped, at some time expand his theme, for obviously four brief chapters contradicting so much of contemporary scholarship will convert only the already converted.

N. B. NASH.

*Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times.* By Shirley Jackson Case. Century, 1930, pp. vii + 341. \$3.00.

Dr. Case's general position in New Testament criticism and research into Christian origins is well known. His *Evolution of Early Christianity* was almost epoch-making in America, and many of the younger scholars of today owe him an extremely large debt, for he opened up to them a wholly new approach to the New Testament documents and historical data. His later works, and especially the present volume, go

still farther in opening up this approach. Here the attention is turned to the psychological factors involved in the religion and common thought of the great rank and file of men in the Græco-Roman world. It was an age of supernaturalism. The proof of this lies ready to hand—classic authors, inscriptions, papyri, echoes of religious thought and feeling in the most 'secular' literature, even in the concessions and assumptions of those who criticized and undertook the refutation of paganism. Small wonder then if the Church, in offering to men the divinely provided satisfaction of their deepest needs, accommodated itself to the situation, and answered this craving for the supernatural. We know how largely true this became later on, with the full establishment and unfolding of Catholicism—in St. Gregory, for example! But Professor Case insists the process began much earlier, in fact far back within the New Testament period itself. And in doing so he refutes the facile hypothesis of the genesis of Christianity out of a kind of humanitarian, liberal, socio-religious program of world-betterment (identified with the ethical teaching of Jesus), which later took on accretions of mysticism, metaphysics, and mythology. Such a hypothesis will not work. Supernaturalism is too deeply embedded in all our documents. From the very first, Christians, living in a world of supernaturalism, lived in a supernatural world—*i.e.* to them 'the Way' was a way of obedience to (or of union with) a supernatural Messiah. Things had happened, things did happen daily, which to them were accountable only by reference to supernatural causes. One need only turn to the opening pages of Acts for evidence that this is so. Many of these occurrences would today be otherwise explained and accounted for. But no one is going to get far in understanding the New Testament who rules the supernatural out of account—in the minds at least of the primitive disciples.

Our one difficulty with the book is that Professor Case seems unwilling to press this principle far enough. He appears reluctant to give it full enough swing in the interpreta-

tion of the Gospels, and stops short of attributing such beliefs and explanations, such an atmosphere of thought, to Jesus himself.

Supernaturalism rendered its most conspicuous service to Christian history in connection with the story of Jesus' career. The Christian preachers, who felt themselves endowed by heaven to perform wonderful works, and who believed the new religion to be especially favored by God, could hardly have avoided crowning their hero, Jesus, with the halo of miracle. . . . Subsequent gospel writers excelled even Mark in the use of supernaturalism to interpret the career of Jesus (pp. 29 f.).

But surely 'supernaturalism' goes further back than the *sources* for the life of Jesus. Delete from the Gospels those added touches due to the writers, and to the oral tradition, and there still remains a substantial residuum of the supernatural. Or, let us say, remove *all* supernaturalism from the Gospels and other documents, and what have we left of a 'career' of Jesus (apart from his teaching)? Moreover, supernaturalism was no peculiar possession of men in the Hellenistic world outside Palestine. Professor Fiebig and others have shown how thoroughly it penetrated the Judaism of the first century within the mother-land. Consider also the Apocalypses, steeped in an outlook which took the supernatural for granted. We should, in fact, prefer on historical grounds to assume that Palestine—perhaps Galilee in particular—was so thoroughly leavened by this really primitive outlook in religion that Jesus could not have lived, wrought, and taught, even as a prophet, apart from it. The 'liberal' nineteenth-century Jesus would have been a stranger in its midst. Rightly or wrongly, he took it for granted, used it, purged it—perhaps we may even say 'sublimated' it, as he did the Messianic hope; but he can scarcely (unless our documents are entirely misrepresentative) have eschewed and renounced it altogether, and at the same time have exercised the profound and far-reaching influence the New Testament and the later Christian history alike assume.

However, this criticism affects but one small part of the volume before us; and were it accepted, the only modifications

necessary would be found within a very few pages. Dr. Case is a master at collecting and interpreting evidence, and presenting us with a clear picture of the world of thought and belief, hope and fear, aspiration and despair, yearning and conviction in which the religion and the Church of Christ arose. For this we remain profoundly grateful.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

*Five Centuries of Religion.* Vol. II. *The Friars and the Dead Weight of Tradition, 1200-1400 A.D.* By G. G. Coulton. Cambridge Univ. Press; New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. xxx + 703. \$12.50.

Professor Coulton is a social historian of the first rank, and his second volume (now the second in a series of four, rather than of three volumes as originally planned) carries on the historical development of Western Monasticism in the same fascinating style that captivated readers of Volume I (on *St. Bernard, His Predecessors and Successors, 1000-1200 A.D.*). He is profoundly impressed with the place monasticism once held in the lives of men and in the social structure of Western Europe, with its direct and simple identification of itself with 'religion,' *i.e.* Christianity, with its immense hold upon the economic structure of the Middle Ages, with its great influence upon later and Post-Reformation European society, with its decline and yet in spite of decline its social results enduring even to this day.

"We must remind ourselves," he says, toward the beginning of the present volume (ii. 34), "that no picture of the cloister is true which does not explain two very different facts—different, though in no sense contradictory. On the one hand, monasticism as a world-institution, apart from the special vocation of a small minority of souls, was killed through one-half of Europe by the Reformation, and through the remaining half by the French Revolution. On the other hand, if we strike an average for the Dark and Middle Ages, it may claim to have been, for 1000 years, not only one of the most beneficent of institutions in Europe, but one of the wealthiest and most powerful."

These are the two sides of the monastic problem—the explanation of the rise, and the decline, of monasticism. Dr. Coulton does more than provide materials, as in some of his other books; he advances powerful and reiterated judg-



ments—reinforced by a magnificent array of citations, quotations, and summaries of the literature, which he knows as scarcely another man alive—upon the institution he is studying. And it appears that the ‘dissolution’ of the monasteries, accomplished by the Reformation, was already begun long before; that their dissoluteness, formerly urged by Protestant writers as the sole explanation of this action, was sporadic and yet not altogether infrequent; that the covetousness of kings and nobles was no new thing in the sixteenth century, but was at last effective only because the large and steadily increased unproductive holdings of the monasteries could no longer be even faintly justified, so few in number had their occupants become; that in the nature of things the development of social institutions, like political, reaches a stage when primitive vigor has passed away and senile decay sets in, when even a good institution becomes corrupt because of over-extension of its power, over-reaches itself, and declines.

One may ask, Is Coulton’s picture of mediæval ‘religion’—*i.e.* mediæval society, under the dominating influence of monastic ‘religion’—complete? Or does he stress features which require stressing only for those who already possess a conception of mediæval life derived from continual contact with its remains, in architecture, customs, religious ideas, and so on, whose impressions require correction rather than initial formulation? Is it a full picture, or only a correction of the common picture? The latter is presupposed, in many chapters, and in his frequent criticism of other modern writers—chiefly those whom he charges with an apologetic interest and with only a partial and secondary knowledge of the subject. He goes back to the sources. The extensive appendices to this volume (pp. 427–668) are full of source material, much of it here translated for the first time; and his vivid sketches of mediæval religious life are drawn directly from the documents—they are often almost verbal excerpts from the sources.

He removes the glamour from the Middle Ages, and confronts us with a thoroughly human—sometimes all too human—institution, which must be studied and judged with sympathy. And yet, somehow, a place must be found for the religious ideas and ideals of the *best* men, even in a social history. And one wonders if the best men could have found the conditions tolerable under which they were compelled to live in the mediæval monastery, as it is represented in these pages. If the monastic life was so confining and repressive, what must life outside have been, for thousands of men and women to seek peace and inner strength within the cloister! Eventually, then, the question arises, May we judge people by their ideals, by what they will—or even only wish—to be; or must we judge them by their actual performance in life? Here doubtless lies the great difference between the panegyrists of monasticism and its critical historians. Coulton leaves it a difficult matter to see how the best men could have responded to such a vocation; Butler, Cram, Montalembert, Gasquet, and other writers leave an insoluble problem in the decline of monachism and its forcible dissolution in the 16th to 19th centuries. Perhaps both types of approach are needed, if we are to understand the inner *ethos* as well as the outward conditions and expressions of the institution. And there is little doubt that Dr. Coulton's corrective is as badly needed today as at any time since the blazing outbursts of fanaticism—*pro et contra*—in the days of Henry and of Mary.

One lesson, at any rate, is slowly coming home to us, and Coulton's *Five Centuries* helps us to see it: the past and the present, however dissociated in outlook and aim, in world-view and philosophy of life, in art, ethics, and theology, are not wholly dissevered, for History is one continuous, flowing stream of life. In the broad, there appear to be three major periods in the history of Christianity: (1) the Period of the New Testament, or the Apostolic Age; (2) the Apologetic-Patristic, Early Catholic—which saw the explicit formulation of Christian doctrine and of the Christian way of life in terms

derived from Hellas, Rome, and the East, equally as from Judea; (3) the Mediæval (or North and West European, founded on the fusion of the new barbarism with the ancient culture), including the Reformation Period—which future historians of thought and civilization (and of religion) may well come to view as only one final phase of the far-reaching and long-lived Middle Ages. In all these periods, Christianity has been more or less shaped by motives derived from Judaism, Hellenism, and the Latinized West and North of Europe. The fourth period, the Modern, is only now well begun—though its roots go back to the close of the seventeenth century. We can now see more clearly than before that much of the theological and social outlook of the Reformation period is directly derived from the mediæval, as that in turn was derived from the late classical and early Catholic; much of it was really only a reaction within the circle of mediæval ideas, along lines marked out much earlier, not only by Pre-Protestant reformers but by the whole general shift and thrust of contending social forces. The break-up, when it came, followed lines of cleavage almost predetermined by the slow and gradual crystallization of the great mass during the generations long preceding. Puritanism, *e.g.*, and superstition, the autocratic sovereign state (civil as well as papal), the *cuius regio* formula, the protest against unbearable ecclesiastical taxation—all these and still other Reformation commonplaces were anticipated in the mediæval period. And not even today are we clear of some of the implications of that struggle which went on for centuries, only one open crisis of which appeared in the sixteenth century; to this day our religious ideas are affected by the presuppositions of our fathers. "If we of the twentieth century are too strongly dominated by the idea of law, our forefathers were hypnotized by the ideas of privilege and personal favour" (i. 139). But it would be easy to find evidence of the dominion of law in the mediæval mind, as of special privilege in the ideas of today—*e.g.* the doctrine of "modern progress." Both sets

of ideas are to be found in both past and present. What we desiderate is a synthesis, beyond the limitations of both narrow circles.—This is one great lesson which Coulton, as a sincere historian and a convinced believer in the unity underlying history, has to teach. And there are others; for the work is one which deserves careful and repeated pondering.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

*Luther and the Reformation.* By James MacKinnon. Vol. IV. Vindication of the Movement (1530-46). New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., pp. xviii + 372. \$6.40.

This is the concluding volume of Dr. MacKinnon's biography of Luther. He covers the period from the Augsburg Confession to the death of Luther and adds two chapters on 'Luther and His Work' and one on Luther's 'National and Extra-National Influence.'

This work will undoubtedly rank as one of the great lives of the German Reformer. It is unfortunate that it is marred throughout by the author's inability to understand Catholicism. This inability sometimes leads him into making the most astounding statements; e.g. on p. 246 we are told that medieval Christianity 'invented doctrines like those of transubstantiation and purgatory to buttress the power of the priesthood.' In his preface to this volume he says that 'history has a most unconscionable way of refusing to suit itself to the absolute system of the purely dogmatic type of mind which presumes to set itself above the laws of critical historical inquiry and dictate instead of demonstrating its data.' True, but Dr. MacKinnon seems to labor under the impression that the Catholic Church possesses a monopoly of this 'purely dogmatic type of mind.' His own book shows that this is far from being the case.

He accepts the usual Protestant explanation of Luther's condonation of bigamy, namely that it was due to his 'inherited beliefs.' Luther's own explanation was that what was permitted by the law of Moses and was not expressly forbidden in the Gospel could be allowed to the Landgrave of

Hesse. This would seem to indicate that it was his acquired belief in the absolute authority of the written Word rather than any inherited belief which guided his decision.

The positive merits of the biography, which are many (it gives the best analysis of Luther's writings to be found in any one work), keep it from being as a whole what it certainly becomes in parts, merely another piece of Protestant polemical history.

W. F. WHITMAN.

*The Bishop's Register.* A translation of documents from medieval episcopal registers designed to illustrate their contents as well as various phases of medieval episcopal activity. With introduction and notes by Clifford J. Offer. New York: Macmillan, 1929, pp. 249. \$5.00.

Scholars have, of course, long been aware of the wealth of material contained in the episcopal registers of the medieval English Church. The Canterbury and York Society has published many of these and in this volume the editor has translated eighty-one passages, which he has most judiciously selected. They are arranged in three groups: (1) Documents Illustrating the Religious Life, (2) Documents Administrative and Parochial, (3) Miscellaneous Documents.

The translation is very literal and the notes, though brief, are quite adequate for a work designed, as the editor tells us, for the ordinary reader. For such a reader the introductory chapters on Religious Houses and on the Medieval Bishop will prove very valuable. Let us hope that this volume is only the first of many translations from these documents.

W. F. WHITMAN.

*The Atonement and the Social Process.* By Shailer Mathews. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. 212. \$2.00.

"Orthodox theology is transcendentalized politics." This is a brief expression of the principle in terms of which Dean Mathews has written a history of the doctrine of the Atonement. We are learning to look for the social factors in the development of theology, and now we are given a survey of

one of the great central doctrines of Christianity as its expression has been affected by political institutions. The various forms of the doctrine have been dictated by the changing political forms; these political forms have been patterns for doctrinal formulation.

The first form of the doctrine was that of sacrifice. This came about because sacrifice was a common social practice and thus provided a convenient pattern in terms of which the death of Christ could be made intelligible.

As Christianity spread to the Græco-Roman world it came to a people who were most familiar with the language of the courts of justice. Judicial concepts are then used to make clear the significance of the death of Christ. In this period the chief pattern in which the saving work of Christ was expressed was transcendentalized jurisprudence. By Christ's death men gained acquittal in the courts of God.

The ransom idea reflects political conditions in a morally disintegrated social order following the decline of Roman power. Anselm's doctrine is sublimated feudalism. The transition from feudalism to monarchy brings about the change in the doctrine of atonement from that of feudal satisfaction to that of the Reformation period which is based on justification of man before a sovereign God. Then, as monarchy becomes constitutionalized, law takes the place of sovereignty, and Grotius presents the death of Christ as a vindication of the sanctity of the law. Then we find in rising capitalism the conception of the work of Christ changing to that of paying a debt.

Dean Mathews concludes that the different forms of the doctrine of the atonement are dictated by the political patterns of each day. The analogies which constitute the doctrines of the atonement are obviously coefficients of the social minds of different periods. If, then, the political system which forms a pattern for the theological doctrine is not the system which is real in our experience we must discard the old form of the doctrine and build up a new statement in



terms of the political patterns which are congenial to our thought and experience.

This is a very promising approach to the study of theology; indeed it may lead to a re-writing of the history of doctrine. There can be no question as to the influence of the social institutions of an era on the forms of doctrine held in that era. But the classical histories of doctrine give little or no consideration to this influence. Dean Mathews has broken new ground in following out the history of the doctrine of the atonement in terms of the forms of political life. The only question one would raise is whether he has not over-emphasized the political at the expense of the economic institutions. We should like to have seen him show how the forms of industry affected religious thinking. But, after all, politics and economics are not independent of one another; both are expressions of the social life of peoples. We welcome this book as one of the first steps towards a sociological history of doctrine which we hope to have some day.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

*The New Evolution, Zoogenesis.* By Austin H. Clark. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1930, pp. xiv + 297. \$3.00.

Here is a new and interesting attempt to explain the mysteries of evolution. It is made by a scientist who knows his facts and who also knows how to present them in building up his argument. There are enough facts to convince the non-scientist that the author knows his material, yet the argument is not lost in the multitude of facts.

Dr. Clark denies the conventional doctrine of evolution when it claims that all forms of life evolve gradually from other forms, that there is one family tree of all organisms. He admits that all life proceeds from life and that all goes back to the single cell but he claims that animal life, so far as the great phyla are concerned, appeared at the very first in essentially the same form as that in which we know it now. This is not creationism. It simply means that life, from its

very first beginnings in the single cell, developed simultaneously and at once in every possible direction. He directs attention to a fact which has not been sufficiently noted, the absence of intergrading or connecting links between the classes and also between the varieties within classes.

The first step was the appearance of the single-cell forms of life. The great phyla sprang into existence directly from this because of the fact that there were various ways in which the single cell could subdivide. Then, within the great phyla, each of which originated in a special mode of cell division, evolution went on. There is thus wide variation within each phylum but no intermediate steps between the phyla.

Mutations have occurred by subtraction, that is, through the loss of some character and the proportionate increased importance of another. Once a character has been lost it can never be regained. Thus in evolution there is no increase in qualities, although there may be specialization. Man is not, and cannot be, descended from the great apes, for man has characters such as an opposable thumb, which they lack. Man and the apes are both descended from an earlier common ancestor.

Man owes his supreme position to the flexible hand which enabled him to hold tools. Man and the apes are both highly specialized, so much so that further mutations can hardly be expected. The balance is so finely adjusted now that any large changes would render life impossible. But man has been able to overcome the dangers of his high specialization by controlling his environment through the use of tools. Thus he has achieved a stability which other highly organized beings have always lacked. He has built a home in which the infant has an education lengthy enough to enable him to subdue his environment to his needs rather than being left to adjust himself to his environment.

Dr. Clark's work is thoroughly scientific. From a basis of facts of Zoölogy he works out an argument which is exceedingly interesting to the anthropologist. It should arouse wide discussion.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

*The Catholic Church and the Citizen.* By John A. Ryan. Macmillan, 1928, pp. 91. \$1.00.

Having perhaps primarily in mind the intention to write a rebuttal to Mr. Marshall's "The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State," Dr. Ryan has done much more. He has analyzed in brief compass all the relations between the State and the citizen from the Roman Catholic point of view, which is, it should be remembered, in non-ecclesiastical matters the point of view of the Roman Law. It is this part of the book, rather than that which is concerned in the controversy with Mr. Marshall, which makes it of interest to the non-Roman reader.

As to the relation of the individual to the Church and the State, Dr. Ryan points out that in the main there should be no conflict, because they concern themselves with different spheres, the State with this world, the Church with the world to come. Each in theory recognizes the authority of the other in its own sphere. Where these spheres overlap, there may admittedly be differences of rule or law. These do not, however, in most cases result in conflict of authorities.

"Civil ordinances," says Dr. Ryan, p. 27, "which disagree with those of the Church may be of four kinds—preceptive, prohibitive, permissive, and invalidating. The two former can produce genuine conflicts, that is, they can command something which the Church forbids, and vice versa. For example the State might require all children, including Catholics, to attend schools which gave no religious instruction, or which inculcated false religious teaching, and it might forbid Catholics to have their marriages solemnized by a priest. Undoubtedly the Church would oppose such regulations by all lawful and prudent means.—Permissive civil laws (*i.e.* civil laws which permit what the Church forbids) are incapable of giving rise to a genuine conflict, for the reason that the Catholic citizen is not legally compelled to take advantage of their provisions.—Invalidating statutes involve similar results. For example, many states prohibit the

marital union of persons under the ages of twenty-one and eighteen respectively, while the minimum ages according to Church law are somewhat lower.—The inconveniences which lay persons may bring upon themselves by violating a civil prohibition of a marriage which the Church permits, are realized very rarely in practice; for Catholic priests invariably try to dissuade their subjects from contracting such unions."

In matters of public law, such as are involved in the general question of the union of Church and State, the author points out that the Roman curia has expressed itself as content with the present status in the United States; and he says, "The American Hierarchy is not only well satisfied with the kind of separation which exists in this country but would oppose any suggestion of union between the two powers." This question was more fully discussed in these pages in the review of Mr. Marshall's book contained in the issue of April 1929.

Upon the general question of the rights and duties of the citizen the broad lines of Catholic doctrine, as explained by Dr. Ryan, would seem to be those of any system of Christian ethics, or indeed of any ethics which does not start with the premise that the State can do no wrong. In this spirit are discussed the duties of the public official, patriotism, nationalism and internationalism, and private rights.

It seems to the present reviewer that the English Common Law has lost immeasurably by reason of using the one word *law* to express the concepts embodied in the Roman Law in the two words *jus* and *lex*. The result is that, whereas under the classical Roman theory of law, as well as under modern continental developments of it as outlined by such writers as Von Ihring, there is a *Jus Naturale*, or transcendental pattern, to which human laws more or less imperfectly conform, under the English and American theory, as exemplified in the writings of Austin and Bentham, the law is merely the body of custom and statute as announced and construed by the courts. One result of this is the almost ironclad rule of *stare decisis*. A continental lawyer may look to a court to

announce a decision reversing a previous line of authority if he can convince the court that the previous authority was not in accord with natural law, the eternal principles of justice. In America, however, any amelioration of a previous decision regarded as unjust takes the form of whittling down its effect by making finely drawn distinctions so as to limit its force to the facts of the particular case; a process extremely disconcerting to the advocate who attempts to harmonize the decisions so as to advise his client how to proceed in a given case or to justify his client's acts when attacked in litigation.

Another evil effect of the lack of two English words to express the distinction between *jus* and *lex* is that we have lost the connotation of right that is implied in the former. In the Roman Law as found in the Canon Law, this distinction is clearly preserved. There are certain well defined rights and duties of the individual which are superior to the substantive law. Hence, for example, in the theory of Dr. Ryan, the family being prior to the state, the head of the family has an inherent right and duty to provide for the religious instruction of his child. The State would be acting wrongfully in infringing that right and the individual would be committing a sin if he failed to assert it.

Apparently, although this point is not discussed by Dr. Ryan, this *jus naturale* is also more fundamental than even canonical enactments. For example, in the discussion of *matrimony* in the Catholic Encyclopedia it is held that by the law of God a "clandestine" marriage, that is, a marriage merely by consent of the parties, or before a civil magistrate or Protestant clergyman, is and remains a valid marriage; but that as between Catholics the Church, through the *Ne Temere* decree making such a marriage illicit and invalid, has legitimately restricted and regulated such right. In other words, the decree is *lex* not *jus*. A clear understanding of this fundamental principle is essential to a grasp of the argument of Dr. Ryan's book.

It would be easy to discuss at length the many interesting

questions suggested by this book. It is particularly valuable in that it presents in small compass a picture of how the American Roman Catholic may be expected to think and act in his public relations.

C. L. DIBBLE.

*Man's Social Destiny.* By Charles A. Ellwood. Cokesbury Press, 1929, pp. 219. \$2.00.

Dr. Ellwood, surveying present social conditions, finds much ground for pessimism; but in taking account of the spiritual resources of mankind he concludes that in all likelihood modern society will evade the catastrophe prophesied for it by Mr. Spengler and others, and will go on toward a better adjustment. He sketches, in the fields of science, government, education, and religion, the developments which he considers are likely to take place, and which indeed he holds must take place if social progress is to be made. Those familiar with his previous writings, especially his *Reconstruction of Religion*, will know what Dr. Ellwood supposes these developments to be.

The present reviewer would be loath to believe that society is sick beyond recovery, but he confesses himself to be skeptical as to both the diagnosis and prognosis of the author. With a naïveté that was pardonable in the social philosophy of the eighteenth century, he still holds education to be the cure-all. "If humanity can secure standards based upon tested knowledge in government, in morals, in religion, and in education, and can secure the general acceptance of these through education, then progress in civilization will enter upon a new phase, the telic phase which Lester F. Ward predicted; and there is good reason to believe that even the most perplexing problems of our civilization would soon be on the way to solution." The "telic phase of civilization" appears to be the modern equivalent of the *μέλλων αἰών* of the Christian hope as stated in the Nicene Creed; but there is nothing to indicate that Christ or His Church ever held out the promise



that it would come about through the diffusion of "tested knowledge." The author entirely leaves out of question human depravity, whether caused by congenital defects of personality or by the accumulation of repeated exercises of the will in an immoral direction—sin original or actual.

Science is advised to broaden its scope so as to include the whole field of "tested knowledge." Every system of government, of education, and of religion is to be studied experimentally, and only those which stand the test of experiment and experience are to be approved. So far good. The difficulty of putting such a system into practice, however, is immediately demonstrated by the fact that Dr. Ellwood pays not the slightest heed to it himself. For he assumes without adducing the least evidence, and against whatever "tested knowledge" we have acquired that democracy is the one ideal form of government and non-supernatural Christianity the ideal religion. These alone exemplify, says he, the teaching of the Master. Yet it was Jesus who said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" and "My kingdom is not of this world." Christ did not teach democracy. He did teach that the welfare of the humblest was of supreme importance. But there is nothing in history to indicate that a man's welfare is enhanced by giving him the ballot. It is quite arguable that the freedom and welfare of the individual are quite as well conserved in fascist Italy as in democratic America. At any rate there is nothing democratic about the governance of the universe.

Religion Dr. Ellwood holds to be a necessary ingredient in the society of the future. One at first wonders, why; since education in tested knowledge is held to be sufficient unto salvation. But it soon develops that, on his definition, religion *is* tested knowledge in the fields of metaphysics and ethics—to be applied in the adjustment of relations between man and man—only this and nothing more. If the time shall ever come that man can live by bread alone—or by knowledge alone—perhaps this program will suffice.

C. L. DIBBLE.

*Progress and Religion.* By Christopher Dawson. Longmans, Green & Co., 1929, pp. 254. \$4.00.

For Professor Ellwood's *Man's Social Destiny* the keen and scholarly analysis of Mr. Dawson furnishes the antidote. Proposing to recommend a program that shall make for human progress the author first sets himself to inquire what progress really is, what it has connoted in times past and how men have imagined that it might be furthered. We have adopted so thoroughly the evolutionary viewpoint that we regard progress to be the very law of the universe. The author demonstrates that, far from being a self-evident and universally recognized principle, the notion of progress is comparatively recent, that it was first formulated by the Abbé de St. Pierre in the eighteenth century, and that since that time the notion has undergone many changes both in regard to what progress really is and in regard to how it may be brought about. For two centuries the cult of progress has furnished the dynamic that has provided the energy necessary for that sustained social effort which is civilization. Now it is being discredited by the events of the World War and after. Some other dynamic must be found.

In the long look history demonstrates, so the author holds, that this dynamic is religion. A religion is not the product of a culture, as it is now the fashion to speak, but on the contrary the cultures of peoples have been the products of their religions. This thesis, which furnishes the theme of the book, is maintained by a careful and sympathetic review of the religions of history and of the cultures to which they were related. The conclusion is that the ills of the present may be cured only by a return to the Christian tradition, in which nationalism and class consciousness will not be abolished but superseded. "The return to the Christian tradition would provide Europe with the necessary spiritual foundation for the social unification that it so urgently needs. We have seen that Europe has never possessed the natural unity of the other great cultures. It has owed its unity, and its existence

as a distinct civilization, to its membership of a common spiritual society. It is possible that the ideal form of international unity for Europe is not a political one at all, but a spiritual one."

C. L. DIBBLE.

*Religion and the Modern Mind.* Edited by Charles C. Cooper. Harper & Bros., 1929, pp. 227. \$2.00.

The Hungry Club, of Pittsburgh, an intellectual forum composed of business and professional men, arranged a program of addresses by well-known speakers, who approached the subject from the standpoint of agnosticism, psychology, philosophy, the Ethical Culture movement, Judaism, and Christianity. The addresses have been collected in the present volume. They present a very adequate cross-section of the points of view of liberal religious groups. No effort was made to present the more orthodox views. Even Bishop McConnell, whose subject was "Religion from the Standpoint of Christianity," omitted all reference to any distinctively Christian beliefs. This selection made possible a unanimity of opinion which, the editor believes, "bids fair in the not too distant future to bring about something of a rapprochement between the religions of the world." It would seem that he is over-sanguine, since the views of the great majority of religious people were not taken into account.

The address of Dr. Gabbert on "Religion from the Standpoint of Philosophy" is a masterly review of the attitudes of the several schools of philosophy toward religious questions, and the address of Rabbi Goldenson on the "Standpoint of Judaism" is also outstanding.

C. L. DIBBLE.

*Christian Religious Experience.* By Arthur Chandler. Longmans, Green & Co., 1929, pp. 115. \$1.00.

The book discusses first the philosophical questions involved in the nature and validity of Christian experience and then practical questions about the phases of Christian experience, how it may be furthered and guided and the steps through which it passes from spasmodic emotion to an abiding sense of communion with God.

Religious experience is not, in the author's opinion, the body of data out of which doctrine is formulated; but, on the contrary, belief is primary, it evokes religious experience and determines the lines which it will follow. In this, it is submitted, Bishop Chandler fails to make out a case. If religious experience is based on belief, on what then is belief based? If it is held to be based in part at least upon revelation, what criterion is applied to distinguish true revelation from false? Surely we cannot accept all that passes for such with blind credulity, else we should be Mormons and Moslems and Bahaists by turns. If in the term "religious experience" we include not only interior experiences, but judgments and intuitions arising from happenings in the world about us, then surely experience is the basis upon which we accept revelation. Belief in Jesus as Lord dawned gradually upon the disciples from their experience of His words and works and was elevated to certitude by His appearances after His resurrection and by the experiences of spiritual power which they felt within themselves at Pentecost and afterward. His Lordship being thus certified the disciples accepted His teachings as invested with the authority of revelation. Out of these experiences and revelations were formulated the definitions which have become the dogmas of the Christian faith. When so formulated, the dogmas of the Church do mediate that faith and the basic experiences underlying that faith, so that we may each enter into those experiences and build upon them, performing in the religious life much the same office that laws of science perform in their field. Strangely enough the author does not mention revelation as an element in religious belief.

On the practical side, the book is of great value. The phases of subjective religious experience are described and evaluated wisely and practical advice is given for development in the life of the Spirit.

C. L. DIBBLE.

## NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

*Das Buch Genesis übersetzt und erklärt.* By Paul Heinisch. Bonn: Hanstein, 1930, pp. xii + 436.

This volume forms a portion of the series "Die Heilige Schriften des Alten Testamentes," edited by Feldmann and Herkenne. It is of especial interest as the major part of the introduction deals with the question of Pentateuchal analysis, and contains a sketch of the history of modern criticism, though this culminates with Wellhausen. The views which for the past fifty years have come to be accepted by an ever-increasing number of students are subjected to a criticism which impresses one as very like the special pleading of Orr. Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, he used written sources for the earlier period, some portions, though these would be minor in extent and in importance, may have been added by subsequent editors. Generally it is shown how heavily the incubus of the Papal Biblical Commission of 1906 rests upon scholarship in this field in the Roman Communion, stifling all deviations of opinion from that imposed by authority. Apart from this serious limitation to a present-day commentary on Genesis, the work is a useful one. Very slight use has been made of the standard English works of Driver and Skinner, and to the many monographs we have noted only a few references in the bibliographies. F. H. H.

*Portraits of the Prophets.* By J. W. G. Ward. N. Y.: R. R. Smith, 1930, pp. vii + 328. \$2.50.

Certain phrases in this book may bring a smile to the lips of the more serious student of the Old Testament; as when he reads of the "farmers" turning "their teams into the fields to break the clods for sowing" (p. 33), and this in the days of Elisha! The smile will, however, be a genial one, if the reader is not overly meticulous, for it is books like the present which arouse an interest in the Old Testament and lead on to a deeper study. Generally the series of character sketches is well done, graphically depicted, and with few and minor slips in matter of fact. F. H. H.

*Who Moved the Stone?* By Frank Morison. Century, 1930, pp. vii + 294. \$2.50.

A vivid reconstruction of the narrative of the Passion of our Lord, written evidently by a lawyer with a very keen, realistic grasp of facts as he understands them but without sufficient technical familiarity with the documents to get their 'feel' and to be himself on guard against mixing the labels. It is astonishing, and shows the author not to be wholly familiar with the documents, to find the Fourth Gospel and the peculiar matter of Matthew quoted on a par with Mark and the Lucan Passion Narrative. There are many superlatives: *e.g.* the last line of Mark is 'the most famous fragment in all literature.'

*New Testament Problems.* Essays, Reviews, Interpretations. By W. K. Lowther Clarke. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Macmillan, 1929, pp. xii + 222. \$2.50.

The Book Editor of S. P. C. K. is one of the best-read and most versatile theologians in the Church of England today. His special field of interest is New Testament. Through his frequent contributions to periodicals, chiefly to *Theology*, he performs a service, on an even larger scale, similar to that of the late Professor Sanday in keeping the English-reading theological public informed upon the latest developments in the field, at home and abroad. The present volume is a collection of twenty-three such essays and briefer contributions, chiefly reviews of books and notes on texts, ranging from a balanced presentation and a penetrating critique of *Formgeschichte* to an exposition and criticism of Eduard Meyer's work on Christian origins. The book is most welcome to serious students; but its chief value will be found by those busy clergy and semi-professional students of New Testament who wish to bring themselves up to date, from time to time. As a guide to contemporary New Testament criticism, Dr. Lowther Clarke is in the first rank.

*The History of King Eadmund the Martyr and of the Early Years of His Abbey.* Edited by Francis Hervey. Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. vii + 61.

Lord Francis Hervey edits and translates, from MS. 197 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, a short fragment dealing chiefly with the produce rents of the manors and lands belonging to Bury Abbey. There follows an account, by the editor, of the life of St. Eadmund, the growth of his cult, the foundation of the Abbey and its history down to the death of the third Abbot, Baldwin, in 1097. All readers who know Lord Hervey's edition of *The Pinchbeck Register* will want to read this little volume, which gives further proof of the editor's love for the great Abbey of eastern England. W. F. W.

*Life in the Middle Ages.* By G. G. Coulton. Vol. IV, *Monks, Friars, and Nuns.* With 12 ill. Cambridge Univ. Press; New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. xv + 395. 10 s. 6 d.

The new edition of Coulton's *Life in the Middle Ages*, in four volumes, is considerably larger than the first edition in one. The additional matter consists largely of extracts, planned for inclusion in a volume of source-material on monastic life—referred to, if we mistake not, frequently in the footnotes of *Five Centuries of Religion*.

One criticism—or suggestion for improvement—the author himself acknowledges: the arrangement might have been improved had a chronological order been followed throughout the four volumes. However, there is much to be said for the arrangement by subjects; and the work, in its new form, will long continue an indispensable source-collection for the student of the social and religious history of the Middle Ages. The introductory notes, explanatory footnotes, illustrations, and index add greatly to its value; and there are many choice bits not to be found in any other translation of selected readings on mediæval history.



*The Reformation and the People.* By T. A. Lacey. New York: Longmans, Green, 1929, pp. viii + 120. \$1.35.

In a little over a hundred pages Canon Lacey gives a really brilliant account of the Reformation, one chapter on its beginnings in Germany, two on its development under Calvin, 'the one mastermind of the Reformation,' and the remaining six chapters on its course in England up to the Restoration. It is the Reformation as it touched the people that Canon Lacey sets before his readers, not the Reformation of the theologians or the politicians, though their work is necessarily treated. He will probably not be able to bring all his readers to agree with his conclusion that 'the Reformation has been a tragic failure,' but, as he tells us in the Preface, he does not expect to. Whether he entirely convinces or not, he is sure to interest and the book should be widely read. This volume is one of 'The Anglican Library of Faith and Thought,' edited by the Rev. Leonard Prestige. W. F. W.

*Vom Sinn der protestantischen Theologie: Zwei Vorträge.* By Theodor Odenwald. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929, pp. 32. M. 1.80.

A discussion of the two-fold position of theology, as a member of the *universitas litterarum*, and as a function of great concern to the Church. It is distrusted in both aspects. The author argues for theology as necessary for the completeness of the science-organism, and also as demanded by piety and the Church. The tension cannot be nullified, but can be transcended—in fact the tension itself is necessary for good theological work. M. B. S.

*The Cambridge Platonists and Their Place in Religious Thought.* By G. P. H. Pawson. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. 95. \$1.50.

"A good mind and a good life"—these words of Whichcote summarize the position of the Cambridge Platonists. The author of the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1926 at Cambridge University elaborates this view-point, and in a few brief chapters sets forth the contributions to religious thought made by the leaders of the School. They did much to stem the tide of Puritanism and narrowness in theology in their generation, and keep alive that broad, philosophical and idealistic outlook which characterizes Anglicanism at its best. The affiliations with Plato and Plotinus are clearly pointed out, and their value for the present day.

*Das Problem der letzten Dinge in der neueren evangelischen Theologie.* By Georg Hoffmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929, pp. 120. R.M. 7.80.

Since New Testament historical scholarship has made it clear that Christ was much concerned with eschatology, and since Brunner can fairly claim that, if we can speak of assured results of biblical historical investigation at all, the most assured result is that the whole New Testament thought is eschatologically orientated, it is natural that eschatology should again claim an important place in Christian belief, and also that many new interpretations of it should be offered in the course of its reestablishment. The present book briefly surveys recent Protestant eschatology, too briefly to be adequate in criticism of such weighty work as that of Heim, Althaus, and H. W. Schmidt, and offers an inclusive restatement.

Our eternal hope and our present possession of salvation depend on faith in the eternity of God. Thus eschatology is not, by rights, a mere feeble appendix to the body of Christian dogmatics, but runs through it all, and most clearly reveals its inmost character. In this, the values of the time-process must be preserved, but the last word is not with time but an eternity which transcends time and reconciles past, present, and future in a great present wholeness. M. B. S.

*Christlicher Gottesglaube: Schöpfung, Erlösung, Heiligung. Drei Predigten über Luthers Auslegung der drei Glaubensartikel.* By Karl Eger. Halle: Buchhandlg. des Waisenh., 1928, pp. 23. M. 1.20.

Academic sermons, preached at Halle. M. B. S.

*Toward Civilization.* Ed. by Charles A. Beard. Longmans, 1930, pp. vii + 307. \$3.00.

A sequel to *Whither Mankind*, and in part the answer to the question contained in that title. It is a collection of essays by technologists—engineers, practical scientists, experts like R. A. Millikan, Lee De Forest, M. Pupin—who resent the implication that modern 'science' has made life drab, mechanical, and uninspiring. It is reassuring, whatever the practical effects of modern mechanical 'progress,' to know that the men at the head of our technological projects still have a concern for poetry and art, and are interested in keeping the machine man's tool and not his master. And the book helps one to see what a vast inner change must take place if this is to be true, and the advantages of scientific progress made available for men generally, rather than exploited by the few to the devastation of the life of the many. For after all, with all our technical progress, comforts and conveniences, and labor-saving devices, hundreds of thousands of men have been without work and wages during the past year.

*Evolution and Christianity.* By Jessie Wiseman Gibbs. Published by the author, Memphis, Tennessee, 1930, pp. vii + 222.

Apparently the battle still rages in Tennessee, from which state this book comes. Evolution, in the language of Tennessee, seems to be an atheistic and naturalistic philosophy which denies the reality of all man's ideals. The opponent of evolution, Christianity, is the evangelical Calvinism of the early nineteenth century. The only choice man has in the matter of religious belief seems to be between a crude rendering of Haeckel's philosophy and the literal accuracy of Genesis. The story of Noah is proved to be true by the fact that the population of the world today is just about what we might expect from the fresh start given to the race in Noah's time. It must be hard on an intelligent man in these days to have to sign himself from Tennessee. D. A. MCG.

*Modern Science. A General Introduction.* By J. Arthur Thomson. Putnam, 1930, pp. xii + 370. \$3.50.

No one has done more to popularize modern science than Professor Thomson, and whatever subject he touches with his pen becomes at once full of interest. He has a grasp of the philosophical and religious bearing of scientific ideas, both

for the expert scientist and for the man in the street. Being a religious man himself, he is able to present scientific ideas in their relation to religion in such a way that the real values are brought out, rather than the merely destructive effect they have upon received ideas. The present volume, popular in style and aim, is well up to his usual standard.

*Two Thousand Years of Science.* The Wonders of Nature and Their Discoverers. By R. J. Harvey-Gibson. N. Y.: Macmillan, 1929, pp. vii + 362. \$4.00.

A finely illustrated and readily understood elementary textbook in the history of science, useful in schools and in the hands of ordinary readers. It is arranged in textbook style, so that the order within the chapters can be seen at a glance. The book gives a clear conception of the major developments of science from its earliest beginnings down to the present day.

*A People's Book of Saints.* By J. Alick Bouquet. Longmans, 1930, pp. 294, ill. \$2.75.

Briefly and simply told lives of about forty saints and martyrs, bringing out their admirable human characters and their consecration to the will of God. The illustrations are especially fine.

*The Red Harvest.* A Cry for Peace. Ed. by Vincent Godfrey Burns. Macmillan, 1930, pp. xxxiii + 433. \$3.75.

Not just another anthology of war poetry, but a selection from modern poets—from Whitman and Lowell on, but chiefly recent poets—who picture war as it really is, stripped of its glamors, and cry for peace. The editor has been a soldier, and saw service at the front; war has no illusions for him. Though Christ's teaching is recognized as the greatest force for international brotherhood the world has known—"They that take the sword shall perish by the sword" is the motto of the book as a whole—the Church's lamentable record of silence and inaction is pointed out, and he turns to poetry. "While the voice of the Church has been silent as often as the cause of 'peace on earth, good will to men' was put in jeopardy, the voice of poesy has sounded in its behalf across the world. And no medium could be chosen better adapted to body forth the vision of a warless world." *Mea culpa*, let the Church say! The charge is only too true. But we are resolved, more of us every year, never again to be trapped by the lying propaganda that bade us turn our backs upon Christ, on the assumption that 'a war to end war' was really justifiable, really God's will! The anthology will strengthen this resolve on the part of Christians at the present day—for the poems it contains, or a great many of them at any rate, picture war in all its horrors, and drive home to one's conscience the awful guilt of those who inspired, or condoned, the ghastly butchery. For example, Percy Mackaye's "A Prayer of the Peoples":

God of us who kill our kind!  
Master of this blood-tracked Mind  
Which from wolf and Caliban  
Staggers toward the star of man—  
Now, on Thy cathedral stair,  
God, we cry to Thee in prayer!

Or take Vachel Lindsay's "The Unpardonable Sin":

This is the sin against the Holy Ghost:—  
To speak of bloody power as right divine,  
And call on God to guard each vile chief's house,  
And for such chiefs, turn men to wolves and swine:—

To go forth killing in White Mercy's name,  
Making the trenches stink with spattered brains,  
Tearing the nerves and arteries apart,  
Sowing with flesh the unreaped golden plains. . . .

This is the sin against the Holy Ghost:  
This is the sin no purging can atone:—  
To send forth rapine in the name of Christ:—  
To set the face, and make the heart a stone.

One cannot read these poems without sharing the editor's vow, to do what little he can 'to end the war-system.' If the Church will only speak, men will hearken; if it will only lead, other men will follow; and there is at least a strong possibility that when 'the next war' is sprung the Christian Church is going to be conspicuously unresponsive and positively opposed to the appeal to turn loose hell for the doing of the will of God on earth.

*Exploring Religion with Eight Year Olds.* By Helen F. Sweet and Sophia L. Fahs. New York: Holt, 1930, pp. xvi + 283. \$2.50.

A novel manual of religious education, recording an actual 'exploration' at the Union (Seminary) School of Religion in 1927-28, drawn from the Teacher's weekly diary records. The method pursued was the 'project,' and the point of view is strongly sociological. The photographs, queries at the ends of chapters, bibliographies, and the whole final section ('An Interpretation') make the book of high value to other teachers. These teachers are evidently not content merely to hand on the accepted material, but are out to find or create the material needed in teaching religion itself to their pupils. There is not much emphasis on Church or worship; but as far as they go, the work is most excellent.

*Six Altars. Studies in Sacrifice.* By George Craig Stewart. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. vi + 83. \$1.50.

The new Coadjutor Bishop of Chicago is well known throughout the American Church as a preacher. Though many of his sermons have appeared in print, not enough of them have yet been collected into published volumes. For over a quarter of a century he has been Rector of St. Luke's, Evanston, and the present volume represents a series of Lenten sermons addressed to that congregation in 1929. The titles are attractive: The Altar in Nature, The Altar in the Old Testament, The Altar on Calvary, The Altar in the Church, The Altar in the Home, The Altar in the Life. In printed form they provide excellent devotional reading—of the unusual kind that provokes and sustains the reader's interest—and convey something of the author's skill in the pulpit as a brilliant expounder of the ancient faith in terms readily understood today.

